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Balcarres, C.L.

Memoirs touching the revolution in Scotland.

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MEMOIRS

TOUCHING THE

REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND,

M.DC.LXXXVIII.—M.DC.XC.

BY

COLIN EARL OF BALCARRES.

PRESENTED TO KING JAMES II. AT ST GERMAINS, M.DC.XC.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB.
M.DCCC.XLI.

EDINBURGH PRINTING COMPANY, SOUTH ST DAVID STREET.

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BY

LORD LINDSAY.

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THE slightest comparison of the text of the following Work with that of the editions previously published in 1715 and 1754, will evince the inaccuracy of the transcripts from which those editions were printed; transcripts so mutilated and interpolated as frequently to be unintelligible, and in many instances to reflect the opinions and sentiments of the copyist rather than those of the original author. The wish that to those who consult it henceforward it should appear with whatever advantage may be its due, is the motive which induces me to offer this new edition to the acceptance of THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

In so offering it, however, I would not be supposed to overrate its merits. It is not that the medal is of precious metal, or that the legends and devices are executed with the exquisite finish of Macedon or Syracuse; but the interest of the period of which it is the record, the minuteness and candour of its details, and the bold and manly energy of the language in which they are expressed—

("Liberi sensi in semplici parole,")

stamp it with a value independent of mere mechanical beauty, and

will be allowed, I trust, to justify my desire of superseding the corroded and defaced specimens at present current by a new issue from the original die;—in other words, and to drop the metaphor, of superseding the incorrect editions above alluded to, by a reprint from the original unmutilated text of the author.

That text is, therefore, now printed from a verbatim transcript prefixed by James Earl of Balcarres, the son of the author, to his own Memoirs, preserved in the Library of the present Earl, his great-grandson. Of the fate of the author's own Manuscript I am ignorant.

LINDSAY.

Haigh, *May* 1, 1841.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

Colin Lindsay, third Earl of Balcarres, was the second son of Alexander, second Baron and first Earl of that designation, (a faithful adherent to the Royal Family, who died in exile at Breda in the year before the Restoration, at the early age of forty-one,) and of his cousin-german, Lady Anna Mackenzie, daughter and co-heiress of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, who survived him. Their friend, the celebrated Richard Baxter, has drawn their characters in very high terms, describing the former as "a lord of excellent learning, judgment, and honesty, none being praised equally with him for learning and understanding in all Scotland," and passing a warm and affectionate eulogy on the "great wisdom, modesty, piety, and sincerity" of Lady Balcarres.* Their memory has also been embalmed by Cowley,

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, fol. 1696, Part i. p. 120, sqq.

the minstrel of the Cavaliers, in his elegy "Upon the Death of the Earl of Balcarres."*

* This elegy contains some very noble lines; the following, I think, I need no apology for introducing here:—

"Though God, for great and righteous ends,
Which his unerring Providence intends
Erroneous mankind should not understand,
Would not permit Balcarres' hand,
(That once, with so much industry and art,
Had closed the gaping wounds of every part,)
To perfect his distracted nation's cure,
Or stop the fatal bondage 'twas t' endure;
Yet, for his pains, he soon did him remove
From all th' oppression and the woe
Of his frail body's native soil below,
To his soul's true and peaceful country above.
So, Godlike kings, for secret causes, known,
Sometimes, but to themselves alone,
One of their ablest ministers elect,
And send abroad to treaties which they intend
Shall never take effect;
But, though the treaty wants a happy end,
The happy agent wants not the reward
For which he laboured faithfully and hard;
His just and gracious master calls him home,
And gives him, near himself, some honourable room.

Noble and great endeavours did he bring
To save his country and restore his king;
And whilst the manly half of him, (which those
Who know not love to be the whole suppose,)
Perform'd all parts of virtue's vigorous life,
The beauteous half, his lovely wife,
Did all his labours and his cares divide,
Nor was a lame nor paralytic side;
In all the turns of human state,
And all th' unjust attacks of fate,

Immediately after the Restoration, Lord Balcarres having "pawned and ruined his estate" in the royal cause,* King Charles, in the promptest and kindest manner, settled a pension of L.1000 a-year on his widow and the eldest survivor of her two sons, on the former giving up, during their minority, a patent which had been granted their father of the hereditary government of the Castle of Edinburgh.—And here I think it not only due to the memory of the unfortunate House of Stuart to bear testimony to the constant kindness and sympathy which my own family experienced at their hands, (not merely during the sunshine of their prosperity, but in the darkest hours of mutual destitution and exile,)—but indispensable also, in the present instance, to account for the feeling of personal and affectionate gratitude entertained for them by the author of the following memoirs, and which must be borne in recollection as the key, in great measure, to the whole history of his life.

For several years after the Restoration, Lady Balcarres re-

She bore her share and portion still,
And would not suffer any to be ill.
Unfortunate for ever let me be
If I believe that such was he
Whom in the storms of bad success,
And all that error calls unhappiness,
His virtue and his virtuous wife did still accompany!
* * * * *
His wisdom, justice, and his piety,
His courage, both to suffer and to die,
His virtues—and his lady too,
Were things celestial."
* Baxter.

sided in privacy in Fifeshire, devoting herself to the education of her children. Charles, the eldest, dying in 1662, her care became then concentrated on the survivor, Colin, and his sisters. Her maternal duties fulfilled, she became the second wife of Archibald, the unfortunate Earl of Argyle, beheaded in 1685, whom also she survived for many years.

In 1670, on attaining the age of sixteen, Lord Balcarres went to Court, and was presented to King Charles by his cousin-german, the Duke of Lauderdale. He was extremely handsome; the King was pleased with his countenance, said he had loved his father, and would be a father to him himself, and, as an earnest of his favour, appointed him to the command of a select troop of horse, composed of one hundred loyal gentlemen who had been reduced to poverty during the troubles. This post, however, he lost about three years afterwards, in consequence of his marriage with Lady Jean Carnegie, daughter of the Earl of Northesk, which, under the peculiar circumstances, excited the King's displeasure. He was forbid the Court, and lived for six years with his wife in the country, employing his time in acquiring languages and knowledge, and in repairing what was wanting in his education. "These years," says his son, James Earl of Balcarres, in his MS. Memoirs, "he often said, were the happiest part of his life, as he loved his wife, and lived cheerfully and in plenty with his friends." His social qualities, it may be added, were of a very high order; "the Duke of Marlborough, with whom he had an early friendship,

often said that he was the pleasantest companion he ever knew;" and a modern historian of the period in which he lived has combined the epithets of "elegant and learned" in the expression of his character. But though elegance may adorn, and talent dignify, the individual in whom they are united, they are insufficient to command esteem; it was to qualities of a far higher order that Lord Balcarres owed that of the hero of Blenheim, owed, indeed I may say, the prolongation of his own life, when, on a subsequent occasion, both of them having long been descending the vale of years, the goodwill which flowed from that esteem interposed to save him from the executioner.

On the death of Lady Balcarres, Colin had leave to return to Court, and was received by the King with much kindness.

On the accession of James II., who ever showed him peculiar regard, he was appointed one of the council of six, or commissioners of the treasury, in whom the Scottish administration was lodged. It is from this period that the historical memoir, to which this short notice is introductory, commences.

I need not recapitulate the steps that led to James's ruin, or detail the progress of the Revolution which overthrew his dynasty. But, as connecting the narrative of public events contained in the following memoir, with the personal history of the writer, a few extracts from the work of his son, Earl James, may not be unacceptable, more especially as, in the narrative of the former, his modesty has suppressed the principal share that he had in originating the only hopeful scheme that

seems to have been proposed for maintaining the royal interest in Scotland and the north of England.

"When the Prince of Orange's invasion became certain, Colin and his friend the Earl of Cromarty* consulted upon what could be done in Scotland to defend the King, the Chancellor, Lord Perth, having been ordered to do nothing without their advice. They were of opinion that much was in their power. There was, from unusual economy, above ninety thousand pounds in the exchequer; with this they proposed to levy ten battalions of foot, to form a body of four or five thousand men from the Highlands, to raise the Arrière Van, and to select about twelve hundred horse out of them, and with these and between three or four thousand regular troops commanded by General Douglas and Lord Dundee," (forming an army of about fifteen thousand men,) "to march to York, and keep all the northern counties in order. This plan was sent by an express to Lord Melfort, sole secretary of state, and ever at variance with Colin, who always said the King intended him to succeed Melfort, being even then convinced that men of that religion were incapable to serve him. This scheme would have been too honourable for Colin, therefore Melfort (found afterwards to have been advised by Sir James Stewart, his undersecretary, who valued himself for having done so after the Revolution) wrote to the privy council, disapproving of the scheme

* The Lord Tarbat of the Memoirs. He was created Earl of Cromarty by Queen Anne.

as expensive and unnecessary, and sent order for the small army on foot instantly to begin their march to England. This was done, and no measures taken to preserve the peace of the country. To have power and instructions [how] to act, Colin was sent express by the Council to London. He got through with difficulty, Yorkshire being then in arms for the Prince of Orange. He came to London the day after the King returned from Feversham, and, with his friend, Lord Dundee, went early next morning to the King. He was received affectionately, but observed that there were none with him but some of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. L—— came in, one of the generals of his army disbanded about a fortnight before. He informed the King, that most of his generals and colonels of his guards had assembled that morning upon observing the universal joy of the city upon his return; that the result of their meeting was to appoint him to tell his Majesty that still much was in their power to serve and defend him, that most part of the army disbanded was either in London or near it; and that, if he would order them to beat their drums, they were confident twenty thousand men could be got together before the end of next day.—'My Lord,' says the King, 'I know you to be my friend, sincere and honourable; the men who sent you are not so, and I expect nothing from them.'—He then said it was a fine day—he would take a walk. None attended him but Colin and Lord Dundee. When he was in the Mall, he stopped and looked at them, and asked how they came to be

with him, when all the world had forsaken him and gone to the Prince of Orange?—Colin said their fidelity to so good a master would ever be the same; they had nothing to do with the Prince of Orange,—Lord Dundee made the strongest professions of duty;—'Will you two, as gentlemen, say you have still attachment to me?'—'Sir, we do.'—'Will you give me your hands upon it, as men of honour?'—they did so,—'Well! I see you are the men I always took you to be; you shall know all my intentions. I can no longer remain here but as a cypher, or be a prisoner to the Prince of Orange, and you know there is but a small distance between the prisons and the graves of kings; therefore I go for France immediately; when there, you shall have my instructions,—you, Lord Balcarres, shall have a commission to manage my civil affairs, and you, Lord Dundee, to command my troops in Scotland.'

"After the King was gone," continues Earl James, "Colin waited upon the Prince of Orange, to whom he was well known, having been married to Mademoiselle Beverwaert,* his cousin, whom he valued, and he had been often at their house, when in suit of the Princess Mary. He declared his favour to Colin, and that he doubted not of his attachment to him at the convention. Colin owned that, although he had the utmost respect to his Highness, yet he could have no hand in turning out his King, who had been a kind master to him, although im-

* Mauritia de Nassau de Beverwaert, Earl Colin's first wife, to whom he was married on his visit to court. She died in child-bed within a year afterwards.

prudent in many things. The Prince, perhaps, valued him the more for this, and twice thereafter spoke to him upon the same subject; but at last told him to beware how he behaved himself, for if he transgressed the law, he should be left to it."

Such a hint could not be misunderstood; the Prince had been equally unsuccessful with Dundee, and the two friends, having concerted their plans, set off for Scotland with a guard of about twenty-four troopers, and arrived safely at Edinburgh towards the end of February 1689.

The proceedings of the adverse parties till the discovery of Sir James Montgomery's plot, in 1690, are fully detailed in the following pages. On its discovery, expecting no favour from William, Lord Balcarres escaped to Hamburgh, and from thence proceeded through Holland, Flanders, and France, to St Germains, where "the King received him with the utmost affection, the Queen no less so, having ever been favourable to him; and both acknowledged his zeal and activity in their service."

It was then and there that he presented to the exiled monarch the memoir which I have now the pleasure of offering, for the first time in its genuine state, to the notice of the Bannatyne Club.

"Colin," continues his son, "was still of opinion that much might be done for the King's restoration, and twice offered him schemes for that end; when he presented a third to him, he owned, that what he had formerly wrote was specious, but that there was an error in all his views; that his foundation of them

was wrong, as he relied upon the assistance of France for his restoration, which neither he nor his family would ever obtain; that France would ever find her advantage in the confusions of Britain, and its being ruled over by kings who had not its true interests at heart, and that he hoped nothing from them.—Colin often said that this unhappy King (except in affairs where religion was concerned) was a wise and good man. Bishop Burnet, in his Memoirs, says no less, though one of his most zealous enemies."

" After passing six months at St Germains, in great familiarity with the King,* Colin came to be thought too much in favour by Melfort and the Priests; they artfully forged a calumny against him, and he was forbid the Court. He retired to the south of France, and wrote an expostulatory letter to the King,

* Earl James has preserved a couple of anecdotes of the exiled court at this time, which may be worth insertion in a note :—" At a supper the King fell a speaking of his daughters; he never, he said, had any resentment against Mary,—she had no will nor sentiment but her husband's; for Anne he could not say so much, yet said something to soften her behaviour to him. This much offended David Floyd, one of the grooms of the bedchamber, a brave sea-captain, with a blunt wit, indulged in speaking; he left the room, but put back his head, and said, 'B—ches both, by G——!' Upon a like occasion, one came in to the King while at supper, and informed him that a ship was arrived from China, with great news, that the Emperor's eldest son was certainly converted to the Christian Religion. 'Don't you rejoice at this news, Davie?' says the King. 'No, Sir!' says he; 'I am sorry for the Prince; they will certainly turn him out!'"

I have little doubt that the hero of these anecdotes was David Lloyd, Esq. of Foes-y-Blaidud, ancestor of the Lloyds of Dan-yr-alt; see Burke's Hist. of the Landed Gentry, iv. p. 474.—The report of the Chinese Prince's conversion arose probably from the extraordinary footing the French Missionaries were obtaining at that moment in China, owing to their skill in astronomy and the scientific tastes of the young Emperor.

of which he kept a copy; when he came home, he found a letter from his father wrote to King Charles the Second upon a like occasion, and almost every word the same as his, and the sentiments likewise. He had, by means of Lord Clarendon, been forbid the Court, but soon was invited back again.* So likewise was Colin, by a letter from the King, wrote with great goodness, owning that he had been imposed upon. He was made sensible of this by James Malcolm, who had been commissary-general of the army, and brother of Lord Lochor of the Session; both had owed their fortunes to Colin. James would not leave the Court to go with Colin till justice was done him, yet Colin would never return as his enemies governed all. He passed a year in France, returned to Brussels, then to Utrecht, and sent for his wife † and family from Scotland. He passed there some years with tranquillity, in society with Bayle, Leclerc, and other learned and agreeable men."‡

* Being "taken," according to Baxter, "for the head of the Presbyterians with the King," he was consequently obnoxious to the High Church party. King Charles during his absence expresses himself thus in a letter to Lord Arlington, "Our little court are all at variance, but Lord Balcarres will soon return, and heal us with his wisdom." —Earl Colin had from his youth joined the Episcopal church, to which his family have ever since adhered.

† Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of James second Earl of Loudoun, his fourth and last wife, and mother of James Earl of Balcarres, the writer of the above.

‡ This was varied, however, by at least one visit to St Germains, as appears from the conclusion of a letter addressed to him, under the assumed name of Du Gat, at Paris, in 1694, by his friend and relation Lord Perth, the ex-chancellor.—"My heart has not been capable of any joy like what yours must feel, now when you are to see our King and Queen.—I'm sure it must be such a one as to me is unconceivable at present. I'm told from home, that there's no defence against the forfaulture of my family. I thank God, I have never been tempted to wish it might subsist upon any other terms

As he had ever been careless of his fortune, and his pension of L.1000 a year had been stopped at the Revolution, this long exile brought his affairs in Scotland into great disorder. Many applications were made to King William to allow him to go home. The permission was at last obtained by Carstairs, the King's Secretary. "Colin," says his son, "had walked on foot, as usual," (being an active pedestrian,) "to the Hague, to solicit his favour; Carstairs told the King, a man he had once favoured was in so low a condition that he had footed it from Utrecht that morning to desire him to speak for him. 'If that be the case,' says he, 'let him go home; he has suffered enough.'" Lord Balcarres accordingly returned home, towards the close of the year 1700, after ten years' exile, and had the happiness of once more embracing his aged mother, who was still living in her retirement at Stirling, and indeed survived his return several years. Macky describes him at his period of his life as a "gentleman of very good natural parts, hath abundance of application, handsome in his person, very fair, and towards sixty years old,"—in appearance, it must be added, for he was not in reality much more than fifty.

For the next fifteen years, he resided for the most part quiet-

than to be serviceable to my dearest master; if things go well with him, I need not fear; and if not, should I beg a morsel of bread, I hope I shall never complain. Give him and his lady my duty, and kiss our young master his hand for me; I have no longing but to see them all together, and I must confess I languish for that happiness. I'm sure if some body have any thing, you will not want, so you may call for it until your own money arrives. Continue to love, my dearest lord, yours entirely, &c."

ly at Balcarres, till, on the accession of the House of Hanover, he joined the Rebellion of 1715, induced by his attachment to the Stuarts, and the belief that his example would induce others. His son, Earl James, then a youth of twenty-five, who had just returned home from foreign service, did his utmost to dissuade him, considering the cause hopeless. " As, however," to use his own words, (speaking of himself in the third person,) " he found his father inflexible, he would not desert him, especially as our poor country was recently betrayed and sold, its liberty and independency, so nobly defended for ten ages, given up to a nation who were never our friends, and this done by a parliament, in opposition to the general voice and petitions of every town and county in the whole nation; this rebellion, then, seemed to him as the only means left to recover our lost liberty."

The issue of the insurrection is well known.—" When the Rebellion ended," continues Earl James, " the Duke of Marlborough, without any solicitation, wrote to General Cadogan to do whatever was in his power to help his old friend. The Duke of Argyle was put in mind of Colin's having interceded with King James, and got L.800 a year to his father, then in extreme want at London, upon the family being forfeited. They agreed, upon Colin's surrendering himself, to send him a prisoner to his own house, with one dragoon to attend him, and he remained there till the indemnity."

And there too he passed the remainder of his life, seven years, in tranquillity, enjoying alternately the resources of his " great

bibliothek," commemorated by Sibbald, and the society of his family; and there he died, in 1722, "much lamented by his children and friends, who passionately loved him," and was buried in the Chapel of Balcarres.

May 1841.

MEMOIRS

TOUCHING THE

REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND,

M.DC.LXXXVIII.—M.DC.XC.

I HUMBLY lay before your Majesty a short view of your affairs in Scotland, from the year 1688, when the first alarm was given of the Prince of Orange's intentions to invade your dominions, until that all the loyal party were obliged either to capitulate, abscond, or retire out of the nation.

I do not pretend this to be an exact relation of all that passed in these few unhappy years, my design being only to let you know the reasons [which] were made use of by your enemies, for appearing so violently against you, shaking off the allegiance they owed you, and overturning the government, so well established both in Church and State; and likewise to give you an account, true and impartial, of the actions both of your friends and enemies, that, being all laid before your Majesty, you may the better judge, when it pleases God to put you in a way and capacity to assert your just right, how to shun those rocks your government has split upon.

Neither attachment to one party, nor hard usage from the other, shall make me say anything to your Majesty but what is consistent with my own knowledge, and verified by the most concerned in these transactions.

I know there are many of your subjects capable to have given you an account of your affairs in a better dress than I can pretend to; but having [had] the honour to be trusted so much by your Majesty before these unhappy revolutions, and having been since so deeply concerned in all the unsuccessful attempts for your service, I have the vanity to think, there is none of my nation you will trust to more, or that can give you a view of your affairs more justly, or with more zeal for your royal person and interest, than myself.

Never King succeeded to a throne more with the love and esteem of his subjects than your Majesty, nor had ever reign a more fortunate beginning; the chiefs of those discontented in the reign of King Charles II., and most of your own enemies, undertaking so rash an enterprise as brought them to their ruin, and fixed your authority, (as unsuccessful rebellions never fail to do,) which could not in all probability have been ruined, considering the good inclinations of your subjects of all persuasions, every one striving to outdo the other in panegyrical addresses and humble offers of venturing their lives and fortunes for your service against all your enemies. But the unbounded ambition of some, and the fears and jealousies of others, industriously spread and heightened by your enemies, soon blasted these hopeful expectations of a prosperous reign.

The first symptoms of discontented humour, or jealousy, that appeared in Scotland after the happy restoration of the Monarchy, were in the Earl of Moray's Parliament,—not regarding the debates and jarrings betwixt the Duke of Lauderdale and Duke of Hamilton's parties, (they striving only who should be most in power,) nor the tumultuous risings of the western shires, [which] little affected the generality of the nation; on the contrary, they gave evident proofs of their affection to the interest of your Majesty and crown, whenever that came to be debated by your few and insignificant enemies. In this Parliament of the Earl of Moray's, affairs took another turn; your Majesty desiring the penal laws against Roman Catholics to be rescinded, gave a jealousy beyond ex-

pression, as if some greater alterations were designed; and the more, that these laws never (except once) had been put in execution. But that which gave the great alarm was the noise of your Majesty's intending a general liberty of conscience, to the ruin of the Established Church.

If that had not been too firmly believed, and the bringing back the Presbyterian party (scattered through the world) too much feared, there would have been little doubt of obtaining all you desired in that Parliament. But the terror of bringing back a party who had ever lain at catch for the bringing down of the Monarchy, and that had cost your predecessors so much time, blood, and treasure to humble, made even your firmest and faithfulest servants comply with your demands but with an unwilling mind. The Earl of Moray not succeeding, both from these apprehensions and his small skill in managing so ticklish an affair, where there required no small art to be used, in a meeting full of bad impressions, difficult humours and interests, your Majesty dissolved that Parliament, and issued out a proclamation for a toleration and indulgence to all persuasions. This put the Episcopal clergy into such a rage that they could not conceal it, either in conversation or their pulpits, and the Presbyterians became insolent by it, and the letter your Majesty wrote to them, then assembled at Edinburgh, wherein you told them your predecessors had been severe and ruined them, but that they might be confident of your protection against all their enemies; this, and the Earl of Melfort's employing James Stewart in drawing all the public papers, (who was looked upon as an inveterate enemy to the established government, both in Church and State,) made the Episcopal clergy act and say many things they heartily repented when too late,—and their dislike of the toleration had no small influence upon the greatest part of the nation.

The order your Majesty sent down, commanding all in office, civil and military, to give up their commissions, and take out new ones without taking the test, brought all in employment liable to severe penalties, and put them in no small consternation; but nothing to what was commanded by another order, wherein [it was enjoined that] all those who had broke the law should take out remissions for it, though they thought themselves sufficiently in safety; as may appear by a letter from the Council

to your Majesty, wherein not only they, but the judges, gave it as their opinion, that your Majesty's giving a commission was sufficient to hinder any from being liable to the law, especially considering those penalties were due to yourself. But notwithstanding this address, a proclamation was sent down by the Earl of Melfort, ordering [that] all concerned should take out these remissions in three months, and pay for them seven pounds to himself and twenty shillings to James Stewart, who was to give them out; and such as did not obey, to be pursued according to law, for having employments without taking the test, and to be rendered incapable for ever of your mercy. This was thought hard, even by the loyalest of your subjects, to be paying for remissions for obeying your commands, especially so great a sum as it would have been to the Earl of Melfort, and a very considerable one to Mr Stewart, who, but some months before, had got a remission for plotting and contriving against your government. Upon the first reading of this proclamation, there was nothing said in Council, but next day a great many gave their sentiments very freely against it, and a representation was sent up to your Majesty, both by the Secret Committee and Council, to show the bad consequences might follow, if such an order was proclaimed; nor was there any appeared more against it than the Earl of Perth, your Chancellor, and those you trusted most. Upon this representation your Majesty was pleased to discharge its being further pressed; but it gave such bad impressions of those [who] were the contrivers of it, that nothing could ever take them off, and it was attributed entirely to your own goodness that it was discharged, and not to the advisers, who, to the prejudice of your interest, and dishonour of your servants, would have reaped a profit by it, greater than was ever pretended to by any subject of this nation.

The fears and jealousies both parties had of the Roman Catholics did not a little heighten these discontents; and although neither of the parties were so afraid of them as of each other, because of their small number, yet both equally joined in being highly dissatisfied by seeing them daily advanced to the highest posts in the nation, both in Council, Session, and the army; the Jesuits living in the Abbey and keeping open school,

and money given out of the Treasury to missionaries of several orders, were likewise grievances to both parties. The Presbyterians, though they had their share, and were admitted to employments which they rarely had before but when necessity and force compelled our Kings, yet were they so far from being thankful for this favour, that, both in their conversation and pulpits, they openly declared they thought themselves nothing obliged by any toleration allowed them, it being granted only to ruin Protestants, and introduce the Roman Catholics. This spirit was not a little heightened among them by their friends in England, and their countrymen who had fled into Holland; by them they were put in hopes of having the Government entirely put into their hands, and to have revenge upon their enemies, the two things they had so long wished for an opportunity to accomplish, but could never have obtained if the indulgence granted them had not rallied them together from all parts of the world, but most from Holland, Dantzick, and the West Indies, so that they appeared in far greater numbers than could have been imagined after so long a tract of discouragement; but they not only re-assembled, but many who had never made that profession before joined with them—as all the discontented of the nation have ever done, making Religion the pretext to gain their ends.

All these discontents were but like smothered fire, until the birth of the Prince of Wales,—which broke out after that with violence, insomuch that many of the Episcopal Clergy desisted to pray for him, nor were behind the other party in believing the most scandalous reports, and making insinuations to their people of the danger from Popery and arbitrary power; which made many, that appeared afterwards of a far different temper, extremely overjoyed at the noise of the Prince of Orange's coming over, being so weak as to imagine he would make so dangerous an attempt only to secure their laws, and relieve them from their fears. Nor were these jealousies and apprehensions only amongst the Clergy; for—from the time you gave orders to the Chancellor, Lord Tarbat, and myself, to inquire at all the Officers of State, the Judges, and the officers of the army, their opinion and consent under their hands for taking off the penal statutes and test—most of them, though they consented and

signed it, yet had such cruel apprehensions of other things further to be pressed upon them, that it kept them in constant concern and uneasiness. And the turning out of Sir George Mackenzie your Advocate, Lord Tarras, and Edmonstone, upon that account, out of the Session, for not complying with your desire, did not a little heighten this prevailing humour, for they were esteemed of the greatest integrity and learning of that judicatory, and not undeservedly, as appeared afterwards by all their actions.

Excepting these unfortunate jealousies and fears, occasioned by three different parties, industriously spread abroad to lessen each other, and which took like a plague through the nation, all other things in the Government were as easy, and managed with as much justice, as ever was known in any age. Never was a Treasury and Exchequer so favourable in all kind of compositions which your Majesty allowed us to make, nor was there ever, in the Council and Session, more justice and dispatch of affairs shown, nor soldiers better paid, nor with less trouble to the countries where they quartered.

In this condition was this kingdom in September 1688, when your Majesty sent down an express to your Secret Committee of Council, (which consisted of six, Lord Chancellor, Marquis of Atholl, Viscount of Tarbat, Bishop of Glasgow, Sir George Lockhart, and myself,) to let us know you expected an invasion from Holland, which, at first, was thought by the generality of the nation impracticable, and only a pretext to raise money, or to bring the army together for other designs; but this mistake soon vanished when the preparations your Majesty was making in England were known, and [we were] assured likewise from seamen and passengers from Holland, that the like was doing there. Your Majesty's Council appeared unanimous and ready for putting the nation in a posture of defence, and it seemed for a while the noise of war had banished all their jealousies and apprehensions, and from all parts of the nation new offers of duty and service were daily sent to the Council. The whole militia was ordered to be raised and modelled to a fourth part, with forty days' pay to the whole, which would have kept that

number six months in good pay. The Castles were ordered to be well furnished, the gentry to be modelled into troops, and orders were sent to all the Highland Clans to have their men in readiness, which with the standing forces would have made a very considerable army.

Upon the first noise of the invasion, Captain Mackay, nephew to Major-General Mackay, was taken up on suspicion, having, as was informed, laid down his commission in Holland that he might be the better able to serve the Prince of Orange in his own country, which was confirmed by a letter of his own found in his pocket, which he had intended for his uncle; in it he expressed great affection to the Prince of Orange, and desired his uncle to let him know, that, although he had quitted his service, yet he hoped, from the condition he was in, to be more useful to him, and that he only wanted his directions to show his good intentions. He had been examined before, but brought himself off by swearing he meant nothing but a compliment. There was likewise one Doctor Blackader seized, who had been sent by the Scots discontented Presbyterian party in Holland to encourage their friends, and to have an account of the inclination and affection of the people of Scotland to the interest of the Prince of Orange. He swore, as frankly as the Captain, that he had no design in coming home, but to follow his practice of physic; all he owned was a letter he had brought from Mr Murray of Tippermuir to the Earl of Murray, son to the Marquis of Atholl, wherein Mr Murray gave his Lordship an account of his delivering a letter to the Prince of Orange, who had received it very kindly. It was not doubted but the Doctor was more in their secrets, but he was not further pressed to discover them, to satisfy the Marquis of Atholl, who complained highly that any of his family should be brought into suspicion. From the first noise of the invasion, his Lordship had appeared chagrined and discontented:—that none of his influence and character might have any pretext to be so, in a time so critical, the Doctor was dismissed. This and several other things to satisfy him were done, but had no effect; and in a few days thereafter he retired into the country, till the landing of the Prince of Orange was known; himself and friends gave out the gout and sickness was the cause, some the family and personal piques betwixt him

and the Lord Chancellor ; and not a few believed the hope of advancing his interest with the Prince of Orange, and by seeming discontented with the present government to secure himself with the next, were his chiefest motives. After he left the Council, every thing went on smoothly, and even the gentry in the Western disaffected counties were contending for employments in the militia troops,—but by what appeared after, and as some of themselves gave out, it was with a design to serve the Prince of Orange.

Among these none appeared so forward and zealous as Sir James Montgomery, though, at the same time, he borrowed a considerable sum amongst his party for the Lord Lorn, to carry him to Holland ; the reasons given out for advancing the money was to make a present to the Countess of Melfort, nor could they at that time have found out a pretence readier to pass. One Mr Campbell was sent over by the Lord Stair, to invite him over by warrant from the Prince of Orange. This gentleman knew or told little of the great design, though Sir James Montgomery had the vanity to pretend, when their affairs were out of hazard, that he knew all [that] was doing, and that he had messages and correspondence with the Prince of Orange himself ; but this was contradicted by all who had been in the secret, which were very few ; nor had he then any influence except with some few of the most bigoted fanatics, who had distinguished themselves by separating from the rest of their party, and exclaiming violently against them for accepting of the indemnity, indulgence, or any favour from the Court ; nor would they have agreed better amongst themselves, though every thing had succeeded to their wish, than they had done with their brethren, there being scarce six of them of one opinion.

But notwithstanding of all these divisions and different interests, all parties kept within bounds until the calling away of the standing forces, that the government was left to the discretion of their enemies.

When your Majesty granted the indulgence to the Presbyterians, you was made believe by some about you, (though of a very different persuasion from the rest,) that they would be as faithful and serviceable to you as any of your subjects,—nor did they altogether want ground to

think so, none of any party or persuasion having given you greater assurances of their loyalty, as their letter from their General Assembly, dated ———, expressed, full of panegyrics and compliments so high that, if it had not been in answer to your letter, so kind and gracious to them, would have looked too like flattery from such a meeting. That you might know if they still continued in the same sentiments, your Majesty ordered your Chancellor to call for them, believing very justly that, according as they intended to behave, their party would follow their example. The Earl of Perth, judging they would not use freedom with him because of his religion, desired me to find out some person, who would not be disagreeable to them. Sir Patrick Murray was pitched upon, a gentleman of ability and goodness, who had not attached himself to any party, but was glad of an occasion to serve his friends without regard to their party or persuasion. He got together the leading men amongst them, and told them that your Majesty, considering the many favours you had shown them, expected they would now let their gratitude appear by influencing their parties to join heartily against the unnatural invasion [which] was threatened; and that, according to their behaviour in this conjuncture, they might expect your favour and protection. They answered drily, they were then but a few in town—that in a fortnight there was to be a general meeting, which they doubted not would give your Majesty satisfaction. When that time came, they put off giving any positive answer until they had new assurances from their friends in Holland, and were made high with expectations to have (by the Prince of Orange) the government of Church and State put into their hands. They then desired Sir Patrick Murray to give their answer—that they owned God had made the King an instrument of showing them some favours, but, since they were now convinced that what was done for them was only with design to ruin the Protestant religion, they would meddle no more with him, nor have communication with any he trusted, considering the chiefest among them were either Popish or Popishly affected; as for their behaviour in this conjuncture, they would carry themselves as God should inspire.

From that time both they and the gentry of their party took less pains to disguise their resolutions, but still fear of accidents kept them from

doing anything the government could punish; nor were any of them thoroughly trusted in affairs by your principal enemies—if any were, it was the Earl of Annandale, then at London. When the Presbyterians got their indulgence, he declared himself of their party, but soon tired of them, and came to the Lord Chancellor, and told him it was his youth only had misled him; that now he was resolved heartily to serve the King; that he had renounced that party, finding them enemies to monarchy, and that he intended to go straight to London. He had a recommendation to your Majesty from the Chancellor, as he desired, and was very graciously received, and got a promise [of] the Earl of Airlie's troop of horse, or a new regiment to be raised for him; but finding your affairs in greater disorder at London than he imagined, he became desirous to join with some of the nobility he was informed to be the most disaffected to your Majesty. The first he opened himself to was the Earl of Drumlanrig. He told him that he knew, by the company he kept, that he was not pleased with the present government,—he was as much dissatisfied with it himself; that he was resolved never to draw his sword against the Prince of Orange, who he hoped was coming to deliver them; and that, if his Lordship and his friends would trust him, he would join most heartily with them and run their fate. Earl of Drumlanrig answered him, he was joined with honourable persons, and could say nothing upon that subject without their consent, but that he would speak with them and give them an answer next day. He appointed him to meet in the city with the Duke of Ormond, Mr Boyle, (grandchild to the Earl of Burlington,) and Mr Maule, a gentleman in the Prince of Denmark's service. After they had dined, Drumlanrig gave the Earl of Annandale his answer from Prince George and those that were present,—that they willingly accepted of the proposition he had made to them, provided he gave his oath after the most binding manner. His Lordship being most willing, Mr Maule officiated, and gave him the Sacrament—that he would go in with them, and join the Prince of Orange. But when it came to the push, his Lordship failed, pretending a misfortune incident to young men of his age, which was an excuse not taken of his hands. When the Prince of Orange came to London,

he was put into a messenger's hands for several days, which gave him so great a disgust of his Highness' Government, that he entirely rejoined your friends.

While such practices were going on in England, your Council and Secret Committee had taken such methods, that even the most dissatisfied lived quietly, expecting the event; which was attributed entirely to the just posting of the army, though not considerable for number, yet so affectionate to your service that they kept all the nation in a due respect, though I cannot say love, to your Government. But so soon as your Majesty sent orders that the army should be brought together, and be in readiness to march into England, all the discontented in the nation thought they had met with their just time, believing your affairs must be in a miserable condition in England when you was obliged to bring up so inconsiderable a force, and by that to leave a whole nation exposed to your enemies, which otherwise, upon many accidents, might have been so useful to you.

When first the Earl of Melfort wrote of it to your Secret Committee, they immediately sent an express to lay before you all its inconveniences, and likewise to propose a design they had well laid,—that the modelled militia, the gentry on horseback, and four thousand of the choice of the Highlanders, should form an army of fifteen thousand good men; there was money in the Exchequer sufficient for their subsistence, and even to have raised ten battalions more, if they had been thought wanting. This army they proposed should march to York, or at least to the Borders of Scotland, which would effectually have hindered all the risings in the North of England, which made so great a noise, and were magnified much above their worth or numbers, to the great prejudice of your affairs. But, instead of following this unanimous advice of your Council, Secret Committee, and the opinion of all your best and wisest friends, the Earl of Melfort wrote down an order, (not supersigned by your Majesty, but only in your name,) commanding, upon sight thereof, all the regular forces should instantly march for England, and that any of your servants or friends who were afraid to stay behind might come along with them. The order was positive and short,—advised by Mr James Stewart at a

supper, and wrote upon the back of a plate, and an express immediately dispatched therewith. With a sorrowful heart to all your servants, your orders were obeyed, and about the beginning of October they began their march—three thousand effective young [men,]—vigorous, well disciplined and clothed, and, to a man, hearty in your cause, and willing, out of principle as well as duty, to hazard their lives for the support of the Government as then established both in Church and State.

The Council, after their departure, ordered the modelled militia to be brought together about Edinburgh, and some of them to be quartered in the Canongate; but these new-raised men (that would soon have been disciplined and brought into order, if mixed with the regular troops) signified little to keep up the face of authority; nor was their Commander, Sir George Monro, (named by the Council until your orders were known,) much better of the trade than these new-raised men, having lost by age, and being long out of service, anything he had learned in Charles Gustavus' days, except the rudeness and austerity of that service. The Presbyterian and discontented party, seeing themselves now at liberty, and the Government abandoned, took their opportunity, and Edinburgh was filled with them from all quarters of the nation; they then took off their mask, and formed several clubs, where they deliberated upon what was to be done as freely as if allowed by authority. The Council and Secret Committee knew from spies amongst them all that passed, yet were obliged to shut their eyes at what they had not power to suppress.

The chiefs of these meetings were the Earls of Glencairn, Crawford, and Tarras, Lords Ross and Mersington,[1] (a few months before put into the Session to oblige the Presbyterians,) Sir James Montgomery, Anstruther younger, Mr William Hamilton, advocate, Mr William Lockhart, Drummond of Riccarton, Laird of Blair Greenock, Mochrum,[2] Livingstone, Master of Burleigh, George Hall, merchant, George Stirling, apothecary, Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, Menzies, a merchant, David Pitliver, Leuchat,[3] Reidie,[4] the Master of Melville, Cockburn of

[1] Alexander Swinton, Lord Mersington of the Session.
[2] James Dunbar of Mochrum.
[3] Alexander Spittall of Leuchat.
[4] George Moncreiff of Reidie.

Ormistoun, Sir Patrick Murray, and Lord Bargeny. Several joined them afterwards, but these were the chief leaders amongst them, until their brethren from Holland met them at London, and eclipsed them. The Presbyterian Ministers did not attend their public meetings, but, according to their ancient custom, nothing was determined without consulting them, and that they approved. One of the first things taken into consideration was how to hinder all correspondence between your Majesty and Council, which Sir James Montgomery undertook and performed so effectually, that few packets coming or going escaped him, and the rising of the Northern Counties of England under the Earl of Derby and Lord Lumley, who had the same design, put a stop to correspondence, and prevented all knowledge of what was doing in England. Some few flying packets got through from the Earl of Melfort to his brother, but in them the truth disguised, and the facts quite different from what the Viscount of Dundee wrote to me. At last one got through with the news of the Prince of Orange's landing; to know the truth of what was doing and receive your commands, Lord Chancellor and the Secret Committee thought fit to send a merchant, one Mr Brand, being most likely, upon the pretext of his trade, to pass through; but he went straight to the Prince of Orange, was introduced by Dr Burnet, and pretended [that] he was sent by his Highness' friends to assure him of their good disposition to his service. When it was known at Edinburgh that Mr Brand had acted so contrary to his commission, the Viscount of Tarbat was most unjustly suspected, for, at that time, none was more apprehensive of the Prince of Orange's coming over, considering his declaration for Scotland, by which it was evident he intended to sacrifice all to satisfy the Presbyterians and those who came over with him, who were for the most part his personal enemies. This way failing of having your commands, the Council ordered three of their number to attend your Majesty, the Viscount of Tarbat, Sir George Lockhart, Lord President, and myself; these two excused themselves, not being able to ride post, so I was sent alone. Some days before I left Edinburgh, it was spread abroad that the rabble intended to make an uproar—industriously given out by these meetings to frighten away those you trusted,

and to be rid of the Lord Chancellor, that they might have the Government in their own hands. The chief of these was the Marquis of Atholl, who returned to Edinburgh after the landing of the Prince of Orange was publicly known ; to encourage the tumultuous meetings of the mob was thought the easiest way to obtain their ends, therefore their complaints were loud of the grievances mentioned in the Prince of Orange's declaration.

The news of your Majesty's retreat from Salisbury, your return to London, and that many general officers and soldiers had abandoned you, was no small encouragement for your enemies to act this part at Edinburgh, and make their court to the rising sun. Viscount Tarbat [and] Sir John Dalrymple, Lord Justice-Clerk, were thought to have the greatest share in this early appearance for the Prince of Orange's interest, nor could they act a part more cunningly for their own ; for, if your Majesty's affairs succeeded, the Marquis of Atholl, who was satisfied with the name of head of the party, would have borne all the load of what was done, and if the Prince of Orange had success, (as was not then much doubted,) they were sure of so many friends about him, that they should reap all the honour of making the Council and chief town of the nation declare for him. To bring this about more easily, it was proposed in Council to have all the troops disbanded, which they knew were entirely at the Chancellor's devotion, and, although insufficient, yet were better than any [that] could be brought against them.

The reasons given for this advice were the unnecessary charge, all appearances of war being now ended, and the Prince of Orange's declaration, wherein he had shown dislike at keeping up any forces in time of peace. The Earl of Perth, who was desirous to satisfy them, and not considering their design, too easily consented to the army's being all disbanded except four troops of horse, kept for bringing in the public money. So soon as the small army was dismissed, the Marquis of Atholl, and those of his party in the Council, came to the Chancellor, and told him they thought themselves no longer in safety to meet in Council, where he was, and several others of his persuasion, incapacitated by law ; —that if his Lordship and they would retire, it should be seen how

vigorously they would act in your service, and have the rabble and discontented assemblies dismissed. Before he gave them any positive answer, he consulted with his Roman Catholic friends, who all advised to give way to necessity, and, since they had no power to maintain the Government, it would look better to quit it voluntarily than to be compelled, as certainly they must, considering so great a part of the Council would be sustained in what they proposed by the most considerable part of the city and assemblies of the discontented gentry. Several likewise of his friends gave him the same advice, that he might not be at the discretion of an enraged mob. These advices determined him, so he returned to those Lords, took his leave, and retired to the country.

The night after he left Edinburgh, the rabble met in great numbers in the streets; George Stirling, an apothecary, and Mr Menzies, a merchant, to inflame them, made drums beat through all quarters of the town; the inhabitants came running out of their houses to know the cause of so sudden an alarm, were met by those posted by Mr Stirling and Menzies, who told them they had good reasons to believe the Papists designed that night to burn the town,—that therefore all good Protestants should arm and meet for their own defence. After they had assembled all they could, and seeing no appearance of any danger, they began to tire;—one of them proposed that it was a pity so many honest men should meet without doing something worthy of themselves, and that it would please and satisfy all good Protestants if they should go and pull down the Popish Chapel in the Abbey. The proposal took, and, as ever in such tumultuous meetings, all cried "Agreed,"—men and boys mingled together in confusion. Captain John Wallace was then in your Majesty's palace, with 120 men, raised by the Council to defend it. When he saw them approaching, he sent a sergeant to desire them to retire,—that otherwise he should be obliged to do his duty, and fire upon them. This they did not regard, so he gave them a volley of firelocks, which killed about a dozen, and wounded others. Upon the first fire they ran, and the noise was industriously spread by the Lords and Gentlemen sitting at the same time at their meetings, that Captain Wallace had made a butchery of the inhabitants; and, to inflame the

more, it was asserted that few of any consideration in the town but had children killed; this brought all to meet, and they were joined by the discontented Lords and Gentlemen, who resolved to go all together to attack Captain Wallace. One of them proposed, since what they were going to do might afterwards be challenged and they brought to trouble, that some of their number should be sent to the Marquis of Atholl, to desire him to give them a warrant for what they intended, and likewise that he with some other Councillors might order the Magistrates' concurrence.

At their desire, his Lordship, Viscount of Tarbat, and the Earl of Breadalbane, signed them a warrant, and ordered the heralds and pursuivants to attend them, to summon Captain Wallace in the King's name to deliver up the palace. The town company, commanded by Captain Graham, marched first; next the discontented gentlemen, (the chief of them were Sir James Montgomery, William Lockhart, Riccarton Drummond, Lord Mersington, William Drummond, Clerk to the Artillery, Livingstone;) next the Provost and all the Magistrates in their robes, accompanied by a mob of several thousands. When they came near the Abbey, the Magistrates sent the heralds and trumpets with the Marquis' warrant and order to Captain Wallace to quit the place, which he positively refused, as the order was not from a full quorum of the Council. Upon his refusal, they began to fire at each other, and the Gentlemen and Magistrates got behind cover, and left Captain Graham, with the trained bands and rabble, to dispute the matter. Captain Graham left them, and got into the Court by a back way, which when Captain Wallace knew, and saw himself like to be attacked before and behind, he retired and forsook his post; when his men missed him, they threw down their arms, and begged quarter. The gentlemen and rabble, when they saw all danger over, rushed in upon them, killed some, and put the rest in prison, where many of them died of their wounds and hunger. The rabble, having nothing to resist them, entered the house, pulled down all they could find in the private Chapel, demolished all things within the Abbey Church, which had been finished some days before they entered, and plundered the house the Jesuits had lived in. When their work

was over, they opened the Chancellor's cellars and mine, and made themselves as drunk with wine as before they had been with zeal. Two or three days they rambled about the town, and plundered the Roman Catholics, who were but very few ; some of their Ladies they treated with the utmost barbarity, nor did the Council anything to hinder these disorders ; those who hated such barbarities wanted power, and those who had, rather augmented than diminished them.

When the rabble became settled, the Marquis of Atholl, as next Officer of State, assembled the Council, and proposed an Address to be sent up to the Prince of Orange, with high acknowledgments of gratitude for his generous undertaking to free them from Popery and slavery, and offers of their further service ; but there were so many who opposed the motion, that it was dropt. Those that appeared most against this motion, and all the extravagancies committed, were the two Archbishops, Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Hume, Master of Balmerino, and Sir George Lockhart, Lord President, and Lord Lochor ; but though they got that high-flown address stopt, yet [they] were outvoted, when it was put to the question to send an address or not ; so, a very short one, and in general terms, was sent up by the Lord Glammis, who was coldly received, a franker one and fuller having been promised and expected.

The next thing that gave them some work was apprehending the Earl of Perth, who, finding he could not live at home in safety, embarked at Burntisland with design to go to France, but, [though] in disguise, one Mr Cook knew him, as he was going on ship-board, and gave an account of it to a company of seamen accidentally together. He needed few words to persuade such a company, whereof some had been buccaneers, to follow the Chancellor, being persuaded he had great sums of money aboard, and that apprehending him would be very acceptable to most of the Council. One Wilson undertook to command the party, that they might do it without hazard. They came to the magistrates of Kirkaldy, and desired their warrant, which was signed by Captain Crawford and James Lundy, both then in good employments which they owed to the Chancellor. The sea being quite calm, Wilson, in a long boat, got soon up to the ship, and, the Chancellor having none

with him, the ship's crew surrendered without resistance. They brought him back to Kirkaldy, where he was most scandalously used by the mob, and thrown into the common jail, which the magistrates rather encouraged than hindered. Next day they sent one of their number to acquaint the Council with what was done, to have their approbation, and to know what should be done with their prisoner; they had their approbation, and (as the magistrates pretended) an antedated warrant from the Marquis of Atholl,—but since his Lordship denied any such order, I leave it undetermined. What to do with the Chancellor made no small contest in Council. All those of the Council against the address were for setting him at liberty; but the Marquis and his party prevailed to have him confined in Stirling Castle, and the Earl of Mar sent to see it done; he was kept close prisoner near four years.

The Marquis of Atholl and most of the Council, after these things were over, began to prepare for going to London, to make their court, it being then known your Majesty had left England, and the Prince of Orange come to London. That their journey might be the more convenient, it was voted in Council the Lords of the Treasury should be ordered to pay their expenses, but the Earl of Tweeddale, one of the treasurers, refused to sign their warrants, so they were obliged to go upon their own charges. Viscount Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, Lord President, went first; so soon as they were gone who had kept things in some decency, all was directed by the Marquis of Atholl and his friends, employments about the treasury and other offices disposed amongst their own friends, and, when all was settled as they thought fit, the Marquis followed the other Lords of the Council, and left the Earl of Strathmore, with some of their party, to govern in his absence.

Never was seen so great a confluence upon the road to London as then, of all persuasions; the Presbyterians and discontented Lords and Gentlemen—to reap the fruit of their labours, from the hope of having made good the promises of the Prince of Orange and those of their friends [who] came over with him; the Episcopals—to endeavour to save themselves from the ruin they saw threatened them, by their im-

placable enemies getting the Government, both in Church and State, into their hands; but their number was insignificant to the Presbyterians, after they were joined by their countrymen from Holland, which soon appeared when they formed their regular meetings at the Ship Tavern in St James' Street,—there they consulted what was to be done to have the Government secured to themselves, and to have all others debarred. One of the first steps was to have all made incapable of ever being employed, who had served in the two last reigns; to see how that would take, they named only five at first, the Duke of Queensberry, Viscount of Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie, Viscount of Dundee, and myself. When this was proposed to the Prince of Orange, he absolutely refused the motion, being resolved to put no party nor particulars to despair, until he knew how they behaved in the intended convention; his putting a stop at this time made it no further urged by the most violent of their meetings. The preparative did not likewise pass with many of themselves, but more particularly it was opposed by the Duke of Hamilton and all his friends, who expected the chief employments in the nation. Before this, the Duke of Hamilton had been little concerned in all that passed, being at London during all the noise of the invasion, so had little to do at home; and, if he meddled in English affairs, it was kept so close that he was under no suspicion. The first thing that he appeared in, was in an affair that I was concerned in myself, when the Council of Scotland sent me to attend your Majesty, and to give you an account of our unhappy circumstances, after the forces were ordered to England.

The night I came to London, I heard the sad news of your Majesty's leaving it, which made me desire that all of your Council then at London might meet at the Duke of Hamilton's house, to consider what was proper for us to write to the Council of Scotland. The Councillors there were Lord Livingstone, Captain of your Guards, Viscount of Dundee, Lieutenant-General Douglas, and Earl of Airlie. After I had delivered the Council's letter to the Duke, wherein they had commissioned him, with me, to attend your Majesty, he desired to see the principal letter I had to deliver to your Majesty from the Council, otherwise he would meddle in none of our affairs. To satisfy him, I gave him a double of

it, but refused the principal, though urged by his Grace with his usual vehemency, which all present approved, as he could not deliver it to your Majesty. He concealed not his design, which was to show the Lords, met at Whitehall, that there was still a Papist Chancellor and Councillors sitting in that kingdom, and consulting what was to be done —for then it was not known, the confusion, tumults and disorders amongst them.

Three days after this, when it was known your Majesty was returning from Feversham, and that things were likely to take another turn, he sent for the Viscount of Dundee, excused his passion with us, and desired all might be forgot, and unite heartily in your service ; nor did any about you, during your stay, appear more concerned for your person and prosperity. But your Majesty had no sooner taken water at Whitehall, but he went to Sion House, where the Prince of Orange then was, and was received in the kindest manner, not out of affection, but that he thought him the fittest instrument to make use of for managing the different interests of the Scots nation. That he might appear to be so, his Grace began by assuring the discontented Lords and Gentlemen, and the chiefs of the Presbyterians, that none had been more dissatisfied with all had been done in the two former reigns ; that he was ever their friend ; that, if he had acted any thing disagreeable to them, it was only done to save them from greater evils. With the Episcopal party, he begged they might suspend their judgments of his actions, however they might appear, until the meeting of the convention then designed to be called, and that it should then be seen his zeal for the welfare of their King and country. With these different pretexts he cajoled all parties, which was no hard task to one that could abandon all just sentiments for his private interest ; and, to carry on his design the better, he appeared not to favour the one party more than the other, nor was he seen in any of their clubs, until the great meeting was held, at Whitehall, of all the Scots nation then in London, whereof he was unanimously chosen president.

The great disorders had happened at Edinburgh, the disbanding of the forces, and there being no face of authority or government remain-

ing, gave him a fair pretence to tell that meeting, that something must immediately be done to prevent evils inevitable, if the government was not lodged in some single person until a convention of the estates of the whole nation should be called,—that he thought that power could not be more justly placed than with the Prince of Orange, who had been so instrumental in freeing them from the danger and fears of Popery and arbitrary government. This was thought necessary by the majority present, and those of your cause were obliged to comply, though unwillingly from the great disorders at home, the mob being absolutely masters ; and that which made this proposition more easily pass was, that the power given to the Prince of Orange was only to subsist until the convention to be called in March, 1689 ; nor could your friends have avoided this compliance without being imprisoned, all the roads being stopped, and passes denied to all but those of their own party, which would have rendered your friends incapable of appearing for your Majesty in the convention, which was thought the only remedy left to their misfortunes.

In this meeting the Earl of Arran read over a short paper, wherein he told them he was as much concerned as any in the nation for their unhappy situation, and that he would venture as much to remedy it as any of them ; but he did not think that what was proposed would do them good, and that he saw no means left to restore peace and happiness to Britain, but to send to your Majesty, and desire your return upon such conditions as might be honourable to your Majesty, and secure the religion and property of the nation. There were many in that meeting would have joined him in his proposal, but his Lordship brought it in, without letting any of your friends know of it ; besides, he was then not a little suspected by them, from his having gone in to the Prince of Orange after your Majesty's first retreat, and from the great power his father had with the Prince of Orange, and all the Presbyterians and persons disaffected to your Majesty. The wisest of your friends judged likewise that, although his speech was bold and just, yet [it] was then unseasonable, considering that if any considerable party had joined with him, it must have occasioned forces to be sent to Scotland, and prevented all appearance for your service in the convention, which was thought

the only proper place for such an overture. Nothing more was done in this meeting; an offer only was made of an association, which none signed that intended to appear for your Majesty in the convention.

When this meeting was over, the Prince of Orange accepted the Government of the nation, until the limited time, and the convention was by his order indicted to meet in March, [1689.] Both parties resolved to return to Scotland, but passes were denied, and without them there was no getting through; the cause of this was to detain the Scots until the Prince was declared King, that, being obliged to take their leave of him, it would then be best known who would kiss his hands as King, and congratulate his accession to the throne, which would be a kind of acknowledging his right. Duke Hamilton did this, and most of the Scots who came over with the Prince; yet others, who intended to appear for him in the convention, refused it, looking upon it as giving up the rights and independence of their nation.—This convention, called by the Prince of Orange, embarrassed many of your friends; to go to it was thought a breach of the oath they had taken in the test, by which they were tied to sit in no public meeting unless called by legal authority. Others were of opinion, that, your Majesty not being in a condition to call any assembly, they that intended to go with no other intention but to serve you, and, by so doing, expose themselves to a victorious insulting enemy, might justly and honestly go to this convention. But your Majesty ended this debate by sending over Mr Hay to some few of us you trusted, with your authority for our going, which we resolved, and applied to all our friends to labour to have such members chosen as might be proper for our designs.

Before we left London, we gave you an account by Mr Hay of our resolutions, but much fuller by Mr Lindsay. By Mr Hay you had ordered the Viscount of Dundee and me to give you accounts of your affairs, and what might be expected from a Scots convention, with orders to send to you such draughts of letters to it, and to particular men, as we thought suitable to their interests, influence, or inclinations. All your Majesty's orders were communicated to the Duke of Queensberry, newly arrived at London; and, though not a little caressed by the court,

he entered with us entirely into your interest, notwithstanding his being not long before offended by being turned out from being treasurer, and most of us he joined with had the common misfortune of all courts, to be of very opposite parties, but common interest made us forget and unite. The Marquis of Atholl likewise joined us ; neither his early appearance for a Revolution, nor his alliance with the Prince of Orange by his Lady, procured him a favourable reception, which made him look back to his old friends, make excuses for what was past, and give promises of his assistance in the convention. The Earl of Annandale, amongst others, had been disobliged by the Prince of Orange, offended by his not fulfilling his early engagement with his party ; this made him declare openly for your interest in the ensuing convention. But so many different views, humours, and scruples made a general resolution so long of being taken, that the Prince's party gained no small advantage by it, and gave them time to prepare their friends at home ; whereas our irresolution lost us many of our friends, some believing the cause must be very desperate they heard nothing of, [while] others, out of a scrupulous unseasonable nicety, refused to join in electing or meddling with a convention called by the Prince. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, after these Lords had again joined us, we thought ourselves by far the strongest party, if forces had not been sent down, the forfeited persons allowed to elect members, and themselves allowed to sit in Parliament, a thing never practised before in any nation while their forfeitures were unrepealed.

So soon as all our affairs were concerted, and Mr Lindsay had got his letters and instructions to your Majesty, the Viscount of Dundee and myself left London and came to Edinburgh, which we found in great tranquillity, and generally well affected to you, which was owing to the College of Justice, who, after the departure of the Marquis of Atholl, armed themselves and servants, by which they dissipated the rabble, kept themselves secure, and the town in awe ; but the Duke of Hamilton, knowing most of them averse to his designs in the convention, got an order from the Prince to dismiss them, before the meeting of the estates. The Duke of Gordon was in terms for the surrender of the Castle, when the Viscount of Dundee and myself waited upon him. In

going to the Castle we met his furniture coming out of it, which left us small hopes of his maintaining it, but we had the good fortune to convince him that it would be so much for your Majesty's service and his own honour, that he resolved to defend it until he saw what the convention intended to do in the great affair they were called for. The only error he committed was, his not getting the Castle well provided, after he had taken his resolution to hold it out, which might easily have been done, there being many well affected to your cause in Edinburgh, and they would easily have been compelled, even if unwilling, to furnish what was necessary to the Castle. But the Duke['s] hearing that all the castles and forts in England were given up, and some of them by your Majesty's order, and never hearing from you nor from any of your friends, were no small discouragements; besides he had an opportunity to capitulate upon very honourable terms, as he showed by a letter from the Prince, written by himself, offering him indemnity and full assurance of protection.

Some days before the convention met, the Duke of Hamilton and some Lords and Gentlemen brought to Edinburgh several companies of foot, which they quartered in the town, beside a great number of rabble that they kept concealed in vaults and cellars, till some days after the convention had met. The loyal party were not a little alarmed with that illegal beginning, but much more with the illegal methods they had taken in electing members for the convention; they had very well foreseen, that if the legal way had been observed in elections, (which was, that both the electors and elected should take the test,) none of their party had been chosen, therefore it was ordered by the Prince of Orange that all Protestants without distinction should have a vote in the elections; by this, and many of the Episcopal party their having scruples to meet upon the Prince's orders, they secured many of the boroughs, which was a great addition to them.

The first thing proposed, in this meeting of estates, after the Prince of Orange's letter had been read, was the choice of a President. Both parties saw well the consequence of getting one chosen of their own prin-

ciples, and both looked upon this as a decisive stroke. The loyal party had great difficulty to pitch upon any of their own number was not obnoxious to the Presbyterians, which obliged them to propose the Marquis of Atholl,—not that they were satisfied with him, but his early appearance for the Prince of Orange made the other party have the less to object against him. The Duke of Hamilton, [however,] having a considerable interest, and the Marquis of Atholl giving his own and friends' for him, got himself chosen President. This unexpected accident made above twenty forsake us, finding we had lost a vote so material, and that the other party would have both forces and authority upon their side.

The next thing proposed was a Committee of Elections, which they likewise gained, and had all of their party named, which gave them such assurance, that all things thereafter were instantly put to the vote, which they were sure to carry, but in so tumultuous and irregular a way, that even the Duke of Hamilton himself, who knew the laws of our country and the force of reason and decency better than any of his party, could not help being ashamed at their scandalous behaviour, and did his endeavour often to hinder it; nor can it be denied, if his cause had been good, that he behaved himself with great prudence and moderation, insomuch that many of his own party began to repent of their choice. Some few days were passed in deciding the differences in elections, which would have required a much longer time if most of your friends had not yielded their claims, perceiving nothing of justice was so much as pretended to be done. Of the debateable elections, none was more remarkable than that of Mr Charles Hume; after the death of his elder brother, the title of Earl of Hume fell to him, but from the great debts upon his estate, he did not assume it, having an estate left him, which was to go to a younger brother if he came to be Earl: so, not pretending to be a peer, he was chosen for the shire he lived in; but the majority of the convention, finding he would not be of their party, rejected him. When the sentence was given, he told the President, that, since they had taken one way of sitting from him in the convention, he would try another which they could not take from him,—so went and took his place as Earl, with loss of the best part of his estate.

The controverted elections being ended, and all of them decided as they wished, they next took the Castle of Edinburgh into consideration, as an affair of great consequence to have it reduced; the Prince of Orange was likewise extremely desirous to have it in his power, as being the only fort in Britain which had not yielded to him. As two Lords pretended to the government of it, they urged the convention yet more to bring the Duke of Gordon to a capitulation. Two Peers were sent to the Duke with very favourable offers, the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale; the last had been long his friend, and the Duke trusted much to his friendship and understanding, nor had any one more the insinuation and arts to persuade, which gained so far, that the Duke promised to surrender the castle next day. As soon as we heard this, we sent to the Duke, and put him in mind of his engagements to us. As irresolution had been the cause of his promise to the Earl of Tweeddale, so the arguments used by us for defending it, joined to an earnest desire to be faithful to your Majesty, brought him about again. His difficulty was, how to get fairly off from his engagement to the other party; this he did by telling them he was willing to keep his word, but he did not see it was in their power to protect him from the rabble of the town; but, to show how willing he was to satisfy them, he offered to give bail for L.20,000, that he should give them no disturbance. To be sure also upon the other hand, he sent to your friends to tell them his defending the castle was thought by many a pretext for the Prince of Orange to send down forces, which might be of greater prejudice to your affairs by overawing the estates than any service he could render you by keeping it,—that therefore he would have it under the hands of those you trusted, how necessary his defending it was to your service. The Viscount of Dundee and me sent him such a paper as he desired, and next day, when they expected his giving it up, he flatly refused unless upon terms they were not capable to give him. But that which confirmed him the most, was the Viscount of Dundee going into the castle, and letting him know the resolution of your friends to quit the convention, and to call one in your Majesty's name to sit at Stirling.

The cause of this sudden resolution to abandon the convention was

the arrival of Mr Crane, one of the Queen's servants, [whom] your Majesty dispatched from Brest, as you was embarking for Ireland. His coming was joyful to us, expecting a letter from your Majesty to the convention, in terms suitable to the bad situation of your affairs in England, and as had been advised by your friends before we left London,—and so assured were they of their advices being followed, that they had encouraged all the loyal party, and engaged many to come to the convention, in hopes such full satisfaction would be given in matters of religion and liberty, that even most of those who had declared against you would return to their duty. But, in place of such a letter as was expected, or letters to particular persons, as was advised, came a letter from your Majesty to the convention, without any copy to show your friends, in terms absolutely different from those we had agreed upon, and sent to your Majesty by Mr Lindsay from London. Upon other occasions such a letter might have passed, if there had been power to have backed it, or force to make good its reception; but, after the Parliament of England had refused to read a letter from your Majesty because of the Earl of Melfort's countersigning it as secretary, [and considering] that England had made the Prince of Orange their King, and that it was known you had none to sustain your cause but those who advised letters of another strain, it was a fault of your advisers hardly to be pardoned. Mr Crane having neither letters nor orders to any you used to employ, made us suspect things were not as we wished; but, not knowing the contents of your letter, nor imagining any about you could have contrived a letter so prejudicial to your affairs, we pressed Mr Crane's being brought to the convention to deliver the letter. Great difficulties were made against it, and [it was] earnestly urged, what a miserable condition the nation would be in if that letter should contain a prohibition, or dissolve the convention. Nor was it only your enemies who had this reflection, but many others had great apprehensions of its consequence, if they should be obliged to rise (considering the ferment of the nation) before something was done to put it in order, and settle the minds of the generality of all persuasions, prepossessed with fears, as if religion and liberty were at stake. To remove this appre-

hension it was proposed, that they would yield to have your Majesty's letter read, providing it was unanimously agreed to vote the convention a legal and free meeting, and to have it declared, that, notwithstanding of any order in the letter for its dissolution, they should continue to sit until their religion and liberties were secured.

This was a pill to the loyal party so bitter it had never gone down, if they had not been persuaded your letter would have dissipated their fears. This proposition being unanimously agreed to, Mr Crane was brought in and the letter read, with the same order and respect observed upon such occasions to our Kings; but no sooner was it twice read and known to be Earl Melfort's hand and style, but the house was in a tumult—your enemies in joy and your friends in confusion. Glad was your enemies, to find nothing so much as promised of what we had asserted should be done for their satisfaction, [they] having much feared many of their party would have forsaken them if your Majesty's letter had been written in the terms we advised from London. Mr Crane could give no account why the advice of your friends was not followed, but Mr Lindsay made no secret of it after he came back from St Germain's, but informed us that, after he had delivered to [the] Earl of Melfort the letters and advices of your friends at London to your Majesty, his Lordship kept him retired, and he was not suffered to attend you—fearing that what we had written to your Majesty relating to his Lordship, might spoil his project of going to Ireland with you. We had observed at London the great aversion men of all professions had at his being employed, and we knew he was in no better esteem in his own country, which made us entreat your Majesty to leave him in France, and some, upon his own account, advised his not coming over, knowing the danger he might be in; but his Lordship either suppressed our letters, or gave our advices another turn than was intended, by which all our hopes of succeeding in the convention vanished, nor was ever seen so great an alteration as was observed at the next meeting after your letter was read, which made all your friends resolve to leave Edinburgh, and to call a convention of estates at Stirling, as your Majesty had given the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Viscount of Dun-

dee, and myself, the power to do this by a warrant sent by Mr Brown from Ireland.

Before we could be determined, it was thought absolutely necessary to be assured of the Earl of Mar and the Marquis of Atholl, the Earl having the command of the castle, and the Marquis, that he might bring his Highlanders to be a guard to your convention in the town. The Earl had early appeared forward in your cause, and gave us assurance of doing whatever the majority of your friends should judge fit for your service; the Marquis likewise agreed to leave Edinburgh and go to Stirling, but his irresolution to do this broke all our measures, which delays upon such occasions never fail to do. But at length the day was fixed, and all your friends were prepared to be gone, and it was thought fit by them all that one should be sent to your Majesty to let you know our reasons for this step; this Sir Archibald Kennedy undertook to do, and performed by waiting upon you in Ireland.

The day before we intended to be gone, one came to the Viscount of Dundee, and informed him he knew six or seven of the western rabble who had undertaken to assassinate him and Sir George Mackenzie, and offered to lead him to the house where they were then met in order to put their design in execution. As soon as the convention met, Lord Dundee informed the Duke of Hamilton of this, and he was willing to have it inquired into, and the murderers secured; but the majority of the house absolutely refused to concern themselves with private affairs, (as this was called,) until those of greater concern were concerted. The Viscount of Dundee, after so evident an injustice done him as to refuse the securing of murderers, although he offered to prove it at the bar,—this made him press yet more eagerly to be gone; nor was there any of your friends who thought themselves in safety, which pleased not a little the opposite party, of all things most desirous to be rid of your friends; nor is it to be doubted several such things to frighten them were set about by the managers of that party, and the more easily believed after the many former examples of gratifying their interest and revenge when power was in their hands, and as yet never condemned by the most moderate of their party.

Your friends now resolved unanimously to retire to Stirling, but, after all were prepared and setting out, the Marquis of Atholl sent to them to entreat one day's further delay, which, to satisfy him, they consented to, considering how necessary he was to them upon that occasion; to be the less remarkable, they resolved once more to go to the house. After a general meeting of your friends was over, the Viscount of Dundee came there, expecting immediately to be gone, and not informed of the Marquis' delay and your friends' going again to the house. He was much surprised at this new resolution, and told me that, notwithstanding, he would go before, and that if any got out of the town, he would wait for them. It was so evident his departure would give the alarm, and break all the measures taken, that I used all the power I had with him to stay another day, and go with the rest of your friends. But he, having appointed many to meet him at a house near the town, thought himself obliged not to disappoint them, so went off with about fifty horse. His road to Stirling was by the bottom of the Castle of Edinburgh, where the Duke of Gordon was in a manner blocked up by the western rabble. The Duke made signs he desired to speak with him, which he got done with great difficulty, the rock there being extremely steep. The Viscount told the Duke the resolution of your friends to quit Edinburgh and set up the King's standard at Stirling, and that their first work should be to relieve him. While they conferred, some of those employed to blockade the Castle perceived them and ran to the convention, and told there was a great body of horse assembled, and the Viscount of Dundee talking with the Duke of Gordon, which was thought a crime of the highest nature after they had outlawed him. Their fears increased the belief that some general design was formed against them. The Duke of Hamilton had hitherto behaved himself with temper and equality, but, like smothered fire, his natural temper upon this occasion appeared in all its violence; he told the convention that now it was high time to look to themselves, since Papists and enemies to the settling of the Government were so bold as to assemble in a hostile manner; and, since he doubted not there were several sitting amongst them were in the same design, therefore it was his opinion the doors should be locked,

and the keys laid upon the table, and some of their number sent out to beat drums, and assemble all the well affected to religion and liberty; that, apprehending such designs of their enemies, he had brought some foot from the western shires, which he offered to employ in the public cause. What he said was approved by all parties; several others likewise bragged of men they had brought to town, and magnified their numbers; the Earl of Leven was appointed to assemble them, which when done, never was seen so contemptible a rabble, nor was it to be doubted, if your friends had known their own strength, or had not judged their enemies far more considerable than they were, but they might easily have accomplished their designs in declaring for your Majesty, and put themselves out of hazard from their enemies.

Such of your friends as were locked up in the house, and guarded by the most violent of the party, looked upon themselves as undone, nor did any thing save them but the irresolution and disagreement of your enemies, as I was informed. The Duke of Hamilton and his party (for now I call it so, having never declared himself before that day) having the most considerable part of your friends in their power, and finding the Viscount of Dundee became no stronger, and that he was marched off, ordered one Major Buntin to follow him with such horse as he could bring together, and, thinking themselves out of all hazard, the Duke dismissed the convention, to the great satisfaction of your friends, little expecting to come off so well. Thus all the noise and apprehensions of both sides ended, and likewise ended all the hopes of setting up another convention at Stirling, the Marquis of Atholl having renounced the design, and the Earl of Mar likewise, and the Earl of Annandale joined the other party, with several members from the shires and boroughs; by this change, and many of your friends forsaking the house, they had the convention near all of a piece. The night after, warrants were given to seize all officers [who] had been in your Majesty's service, and other suspected persons; but few of any consideration were taken into custody, except Lieutenant-General Douglas, which was unaccountable, considering his early appearance in the Prince of Orange his interest. When he was called up commander-in-chief of the army, he was entirely in yours,

but he was not long in England, and had conversed with the discontented officers of the army, till he joined with them in the design of either going in himself, or sending to the Prince of Orange all he could influence. He proposed his design first to the Viscount of Dundee, who was the next commanding officer, nor did the Viscount make any secret of it after the affair was over, but thought himself obliged not to discover it to your Majesty, having given his parole of honour not to reveal his secret, although he abhorred the proposition. The General soon cleared himself of any design against the Government, and was dismissed.

Being now freed of most of those who obstructed their designs of settling the Government, as the Duke and his party had undertaken, they fell heartily to work with the affair for which they were called by the Prince of Orange ; but, fearing he might think they proceeded too slowly, they sent up the Lord Ross with the reasons of their delay, and assurances of speedily settling all things to his satisfaction, as they were now rid of those who had opposed it. They appointed a committee for settling the Government, and another for considering the present state of affairs ; what was done or said in these committees I pass over, being one of the first who left the house, and observing both parties too much incensed to have an impartial account from either of them.

Although most of your friends had left the house, yet still remained some who gave them opposition, when they came to settle the Government, particularly the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir George Mackenzie, and Mr James Ogilvie, who pled your cause and that of the nation with strong reason and capacity. But neither religion, law, nor justice could prevail or be heard by men resolved to finish what they had begun. Amongst themselves differences began, after they were rid of most of your friends. Some would have the Crown immediately declared vacant, and the Prince of Orange proclaimed King ; others more cautious, and willing to see a little about them before they made so hardy a step, proposed a Union of the two nations, and took all imaginable pains to bring back your friends to the house to join with them in this design, as being the only expedient left to support your interest,—considering, if that

was not agreed to, the Crown would immediately be settled, but if a Union was agreed to, many months must pass before any settlement could be made. At first sight the proposition did not seem unreasonable, and it was so well and dexterously managed by the Viscount of Tarbat and Lord Stair, that many of your friends resolved to go into it, if they had not suspected their design was only to do their work as effectually for the Prince of Orange by a Union as by any other way, and to save themselves from the odium of the nation or the danger of your Majesty's succeeding in Ireland, then much apprehended, your success and strength there being far overvalued, both by the reports of your friends and their own fears. This project took likewise with all who inclined to trim, or were not in hopes of preferment, but ended by your friends refusing to act in it. Duke Hamilton likewise was against it, who expected all the chief employments to himself and children as the rewards of his services. The Presbyterians also feared such a Union with a nation where the Episcopal Church might be pernicious to their Kirk, which they intended not only to establish upon the old footing, but according as they had formerly done, endeavour the reformation of their brethren in England. These two parties against the Union were so superior to those for it, (your friends refusing to join with them,) that they never brought their project above board.

A few days after they were certain the Viscount of Dundee was retired to his own house in Angus, they sent a herald and trumpet to summon him and Lord Livingstone to return, under pain of rebellion against the State. Lord Livingstone obeyed, and was presently dismissed, being then no member of Parliament, and having nothing to charge him with. The Viscount of Dundee wrote a letter to the convention, excusing his not obeying their orders; wherein he gave his reasons for leaving the house, which were that he could no longer remain amongst them after he had, in a full house, demanded justice of his enemies who designed to murder him, and could neither get security nor reparation of them; nor could he return to a convention, so overawed as they were by the rabble of the Western Shires, and guarded by foreign troops, (for at this time Major-General Mackay was sent down with four Dutch regi-

ments,) but, if they would do him justice, and assure him of protection, he promised immediately to return. I have made this account the more full as it was asserted, after the Viscount went to the Highlands, that several of your Majesty's friends had broke from their engagements with him, in not attending him ; but the truth is, there was no such engagement, as your Majesty's commands sent by Mr Hay were, that, if we saw there could be nothing done for your service in the convention, we should leave it and keep ourselves as quiet as possible until you could send us assistance from Ireland; but the intention of our party's going to Stirling made the one design be mistaken for the other, nor did ever the Viscount of Dundee think of going to the Highlands without further orders from you, till a party was sent to apprehend him. But, notwithstanding all the difficulties your friends laboured under, some of them did not give over hopes of breaking the designs of the convention, and having another set up in some safe place. The Duke of Queensberry's arrival from London, with the Earl of Dunmore, gave encouragement to try another project to break the measures of the convention. The Duke, from the beginning of your misfortunes, had appeared sincerely in your interest, nor could he be blamed in any thing but his too long stay in London, and not being present at the first meeting of the convention, as he promised to all your friends,—and, if it had been performed, we had been by far the strongest party, and, if Scotland had then declared for you when you was almost master of Ireland, the Prince of Orange had past his time but ill in England, considering how powerful France was upon the other side.

These considerations made us extremely concerned, after we found we could not succeed in the convention, either to assemble another to counteract them, or to oblige them to leave Edinburgh, which would have occasioned a delay till they could set up another which they intended at Glasgow, if forced from Edinburgh. The means proposed by your friends to effect this was, to have the Duke of Gordon to fire upon the town from the castle, which would have obliged the convention to leave it. In all this design no one appeared more forward than the Marquis of Atholl, and it was of great consequence to us to have him so, (after

the Earl of Mar had forsook us, by which Stirling Castle was lost,) as his Highlanders were zealous in your cause, and able to have protected your friends, who intended to retire to the North and wait for your orders from Ireland. That which made us depend upon him, notwithstanding the many slips he had made, was the great influence his son, the Earl of Dunmore, had with him ; and he used all his endeavours to keep him to his duty, and acted in all your concerns with zeal and affectionate gratitude, till he was made a prisoner. The Countess of Errol, who had found a way to keep a constant correspondence with the Duke of Gordon, all the time of his being blocked up, undertook to let him know our advice and designs, which she did accordingly, but without effect, his Grace absolutely refusing to do any thing more than defend himself, without your Majesty's particular orders. This project likewise failing of making the convention quit Edinburgh, your friends saw then there was no more to be done, which made them retire to their own houses in the country ; these were the Earl of Hume, Viscount of Stormont, Viscount of Oxenford, Earls of Panmure and Southesk, Lord St Clair, the Sheriff of Bute, and Mr Henry Maule, brother to Panmure.

A few days thereafter, the Committee of Estates prepared all was intended for the great meeting, who were in difficulties as to the manner of declaring the Crown vacant ; some were for abdication, as had been done in England, but that could not pass, as the most violent could not pretend you had abdicated Scotland ; others were for making use of an old obsolete word, "Fore-letting," used for a bird's forsaking her nest, —but Sir John Dalrymple ended the controversy by giving such reasons against both, that they went into his motion, which was, to have it declared that, by doing acts contrary to law, you had forfeited your right to the Crown,—not that they intended to forfeit your Majesty as a criminal, but that you of yourself had forfeited, which would render the whole clear, and likewise remove any right the Prince of Wales might afterwards pretend to. Next day it was voted unanimously, none dissenting except the Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Boyne, Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, and Mr Ogilvie, son to the Earl of Findlater. After the Crown was declared vacant, they immediately proposed

the filling it, and the Duke of Hamilton, although President, and not obliged to vote, yet to show a good example, as he said himself, proposed to make an humble offer of the Crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange, now King and Queen of England. This last vote past more unanimously than the other declaring the throne vacant. The Duke of Queensberry and the Marquis of Atholl, having withdrawn at the first vote, came to the second, and told the house that they were not fully convinced of their own right of declaring the Crown vacant, but, since the estates had done it, they thought none deserved so well to fill it as the Prince and Princess of Orange. The vote being over, they all went to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and proclaimed them King and Queen of Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton officiated as Herald in reading the act of convention, an action thought below his dignity, and mean from one of his haughty temper.

After this, they dispatched the Lord Lorn, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple, with the offer of the Crown, upon condition of having their grievances redressed, and the Claim of Right assented to, which they pretended were naturally and legally the rights of the people, inherent to them, though never established by any former law, or act of parliament. Until the return of these three members, and that they were informed if the Prince of Orange would accept of the Crown, their present, they resolved upon an adjournment for some days; and, that they might be in the greater security, a full power was given to the Duke of Hamilton to imprison whoever he suspected to be acting against the common interest, until their next meeting. To him this power was given, fearing, if lodged in many hands, some might be partial to their friends and relations; he had given such proofs of his zeal and inclinations, that all the different factions arisen among themselves agreed to put this power into his hands.

The first who found the effect of it were the Viscount of Dundee and myself. Your Majesty's sending from Ireland one Mr Brodie to the Viscount of Dundee and me, was the cause, as he brought letters from your Majesty, where you gave the same orders as before with Mr Hay, to do nothing until your further orders, and that five thousand foot and

three hundred horse, which you had ready, should be landed in Scotland. These letters were taken by the folly or knavery of Mr Brodie, who had discovered all his business to one Mr Thomson, who came with him from Ireland, or likely sent designedly to betray him; but, although he had trusted Mr Thomson with all his secrets, the Duke of Hamilton had gained nothing by it, his letters were so well concealed in a false bottom to his trunk, and not directed but by marks he only knew himself,—nor were they suspecting where the letters were until he informed them, and of all he knew, and to whom he was directed. Duke Hamilton, by the power given him by the convention, immediately ordered a hundred foot to be sent to seize the Viscount of Dundee, and as many to apprehend me, of the Earl of Leven's regiment; the Viscount's house being further north than mine, and two rivers to cross, gave him a better opportunity to escape; besides, they knew he had many of his old regiment about him, which made them not forward to attack him; but I was taken and carried to Edinburgh, and put into the common jail. For some days I had the liberty to see my friends, until the first meeting of the convention; then letters, directed to me by the Earl of Melfort, were read, wherein, after full assurance of a speedy and considerable relief, he was pleased to express himself in these terms—that he wished some had been cut off that he and I had often spoken of, and then things had never come to pass they were now at, "but when we get the power, we will make these men hewers of wood and drawers of water." The Duke of Hamilton conceived these words as meant to himself.—What the Earl of Melfort's design was in using these expressions to one he then knew was in the hands of your enemies, I will not determine; but, for his Lordship's justification and my own, (although I be now out of the reach of all my enemies,) I DECLARE BEFORE GOD and your Majesty, I never heard him use any such expressions, nor ever heard of any such propositions. But, whatever he intended by these expressions, nothing at that time could be more to the prejudice of your affairs, and to my particular hurt; it was proclaiming fairly, nothing was to be expected, upon your return, but cruelty and barbarity. These letters were printed both in Scotland and England, and had near their designed

effect upon me. When they were read in the convention, although I had many relations and friends there, yet none appeared for me but the Duke of Queensberry. Those few of our own party who had remained in the house and voted against the Crown's being vacant, very justly were silent, as any thing they could say would rather irritate than help me. The Duke's appearing for me was the more generous, that, before the invasion, and till I saw his firmness in your service, being of different parties, we were in very ill terms. He told the house he doubted not that the Earl of Melfort had written these letters with an intention to hurt me, and if letters coming to one without direction could be made criminal, it was in the power of every man's enemies to undo him; he said, that which inclined him the more to believe this, was my concurring with many of your friends and servants, both in England and Scotland, (notwithstanding of my relation to the Earl of Melfort, and the particular friendship I was in with his brother the Earl of Perth,) to desire your Majesty, by Mr Lindsay, Sir Archibald Kennedy, and Captain Carlton, that the Earl of Melfort might not come with you when you left France,—for at that time never man in any nation was so much abhorred, insomuch that whatever came from your Majesty, if he was thought to be concerned in it, there needed no more to give all Britain a prejudice against it, nor were any more his enemies than the Roman Catholics, especially those of an old standing, who repined to see a new and corrupt one so much preferred to them. Although what the Duke of Queensberry said, showed his good will, yet it did not allay their heat; Duke Hamilton told him he had as little reason as any to defend me, for he doubted not but he was likewise comprehended (as did almost the whole house think themselves meant) by the "hewers of wood and drawers of water." So I was voted close prisoner, and kept four months until the surrender of Edinburgh Castle. Nor did they limit this rage to me alone, but several gentlemen they thought my friends were taken and put into the common jail; and it was proposed by the Earl of Crawford, that Lord Lochor, who was taken with me, should likewise be made close prisoner, not doubting, from the friendship I had for him, but he knew of all was designed, or had been acted in the last

evil government. This Duke Hamilton thought too much, but, others insisting, it went to a vote, and was carried in the negative but by three.

The Prince of Orange, having accepted of the Crown offered him by the three commissioners, ordered the convention to be adjourned until the beginning of June, in order to turn the convention into a Parliament, as had been done in England; before they parted, they gave orders for raising several regiments of foot, and some troops of horse and dragoons, which could not have been effected if they had not turned our own cannon against us, by making use of the money we had left in the treasury; they made earnest solicitations for more forces from England, which were immediately sent them. Having thus ordered all their affairs, and appointed a committee to govern until their next meeting, or until a privy council was established, they adjourned, and many of the members who had shown their zeal in the convention, went to London to receive the reward of their service.

The first act of this new committee was to order Major-General Mackay to send some troops of dragoons, by the way of Stirling, to apprehend the Viscount of Dundee, who had still remained at his house, Dudhope, and at another he had in Glen-Ogilvy; but, when he knew of their coming towards him, he was obliged to retire, not being near their number, nor knowing those dragoons were so well inclined to your service as their behaviour showed thereafter,—but at this time they were not come to understand one another, so he knew not their intentions. A few days thereafter, Mackay came himself into that country, with eight hundred foot, Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, and four troops of dragoons, which forced the Viscount to retire yet further northward into the Duke of Gordon's country, where the Earl of Dunfermline met him with about sixty horse; but, Mackay being so strong and pursuing him, that he might not be idle, as he had not strength to face Mackay, he turned from him, and, by great marches through the Highlands, arrived at Perth, where the Laird of Blair then was with one of the new-raised troops of dragoons, and some other officers, who were all made prisoners. Then the Viscount marched to Angus, thinking to surprise

Lord Rollo there, who was raising another troop; but, not being able to march with that expedition was needful, his horses being extremely fatigued by the long march he had made, and scarcity of forage, (for at that season there was yet nothing in the field,) Lord Rollo had time to hear of Blair's misfortune, and to make his escape. Then the Viscount marched to the Highlands, that he might join the clans in Lochaber; they all met with him, or sent assurances to join him when ordered, except the Laird of MacIntosh. Some days after this, the Viscount took two expresses going from Mackay to Colonel Ramsay, with orders to come up through Atholl and join him; observing he was like to be environed, he choosed to attack one of them before they were joined together, so, having assembled about two thousand foot beside the few horse he had marched straight towards Ramsay, who commanded a select detachment of twelve hundred foot, but, as soon as he knew of the Viscount's moving towards him, he instantly retired in that haste that he blew up his ammunition, and marched night and day till he was out of that country. The Viscount not being able to overtake him, came and staid some days at Badenoch, where he was informed Mackay was marching to attack him; that he might the better know the enemy's strength, he went himself, with a small party, to view them, leaving the command of the foot to Lochiel, and the horse to the Earl of Dunfermline. Lochiel, hearing the enemy was strong in horse, which the Highlanders most fear, he withdrew from the ground where the Viscount had left him, into a stronger, so that, when he returned to bring up his men to attack Mackay, thinking to find them where [he] had left them, they were so retired that the day was spent before they could come in sight of Mackay, and before next morning he was decamped,—otherwise it was thought the Viscount had given a good account of him. Thereafter, to bring Mackay to an engagement, he marches to the castle of Ruthven of Badenoch, into which Mackay had lately put a garrison; he summoned the governor to surrender the place,—this was upon the 29th of May; at first he refused, but, when he saw all things ready to attack him, and being but ill provided of necessaries, he desired to capitulate, and gave up the place, which the Viscount caused burn. After this, he

marched to find out Mackay, and was not a little encouraged to it by a letter he had from the regiment of Scots dragoons, which had been commanded by the Earl of Dunmore, by which they assured him of their readiness to obey his orders. Before they left England, the soldiers intended to have retired to Scotland, as the Viscount's own regiment had done, without orders ; but [did not,] being assured by some of their officers, particularly by Captain Murray, (in whom they had confidence,) that the officers only kept them together for your Majesty's service, and that they were resolved not to serve the Prince of Orange but till an opportunity to serve your Majesty should offer, which was now embraced. But the design was unluckily discovered by Captain Forbes, who had been governor of the castle of Ruthven, and returning to Mackay, upon the road he observed one Provansell coming back from Lord Dundee, who had been sent to him by the officers of this regiment ; this he informed Mackay, as well as of the Viscount's march, which made him instantly to decamp, and next morning, when the Viscount expected to have found him where Provansell had informed him he lay, he got intelligence that he had marched all the night and got the length of Balveny. The Viscount, to get betwixt him and the Low Countries, marched up Glenlivet, and turned down Strathdon, but Mackay, having account of his march from Gordon of Edenglassie, retired with all expedition. The Viscount pursued so fast, that, about four in the afternoon, he came in sight of Mackay, but, the country being full of hills and other difficulties, it was eleven at night before he came near him ; the darkness made him lose sight of him, and he marched twelve miles from him before the next morning. The Viscount finding his men and horses fatigued, went into Edenglassie's park to refresh them, where, two days thereafter, he had intelligence that Mackay was upon his march towards him, being reinforced by an English regiment of horse, and another of foot. This obliged the Viscount to retire, keeping always a strong rear-guard, as well to prevent his men from straggling, as from any attempt upon his rear ; yet all his care could not keep his Highlanders from plunder, so that twenty of them were taken, and immediately hanged, by Gordon of Edenglassie.

Marching towards Badenoch, near the river Spey, he was joined by

two hundred of Sir John Maclean's men, who, the day before, were like to have been cut off by three hundred English dragoons, who were near them before they knew they were enemies; they ran to the side of a hill, where they drew up; the commander of the dragoons, finding he could not attack them on horseback, dismounted, and marched up the hill, which the Highlanders no sooner perceived, than, sword in hand, they fell upon them, killed fourteen and a captain, and put the rest to flight. The Viscount was further joined by Sir John Maclean, and two hundred men belonging to Largie-Macdonald and Gallacheilie.* Before he came to Lochaber, he dismissed most part of his Highlanders, that country being unable to maintain them, but kept Maclean's men, being far from their own country; these he paid out of his own pocket, and kept in so good order that the country was well satisfied all the time he remained there, which was near two months. Mackay, finding he could do nothing against him in Lochaber, retired and dismissed his troops to refresh themselves for a small time in quarters. Thus each of them having pursued or fled, according to their present condition or enemy's strength, by turns retired.

During the adjournment of the convention, all appeared very quiet, although about this time humour and discontents began to arise among themselves, the Prince of Orange not being able to satisfy the avarice and pretensions of them all. Those that came from Holland with him looked upon it as their right, to have all the favours and employments he could bestow; and those that had appeared early for his cause, and had been the chief instruments of raising the rabble at Edinburgh, and shown their zeal for him at the convention, thought they had better pretensions than those that had come over with him, they having only acted what they had done out of necessity, being for the most part forfeited persons. The Prince of Orange, until he got his own business done, managed both parties, so that each believed they had all to expect, but, after the convention, they found their mistake; for, not only his own inclinations were for those that came over with him, but Monsieur Ben-

* Macdonald of Largie and MacNeill of Gallacheilie.

tinck openly declared for them, and got Lord Melville made sole Secretary of State for Scotland, and a Council named, as he thought fit, of such as, if they could do him no good, would signify as little against him, and by which his power would be the greater. In it were named some, more for show of their families than any value of their persons or esteem of their parts, such as the Marquis of Douglas, Earl Marischal, Earls of Errol, Morton, and Eglinton, who, although not Presbyterians, yet they were sure would not oppose things to be done; yet this dissatisfied extremely the Presbyterians, who thought none should be admitted but such as had given eminent proofs of their zeal or conversion,—and none more than Sir James Montgomery, who thought nothing less due to his merits than to be Secretary of State. Duke Hamilton was also little better satisfied, finding all the employments were not at his disposal, nor given to his children and friends, for which he had made such fruitless attempts both in your brother's reign and in your own. But, although these discontents and jealousies were generally known, yet did they not publicly declare against each other until after the first session of their parliament, which was in June 1689, where Duke Hamilton was Commissioner, and the Earl of Crawford, President; in it they confirmed all the convention had done, declared Episcopacy a grievance, made a new oath of allegiance, and ordered all the Episcopal clergy to pray for the Prince and Princess of Orange, as King and Queen, under pain of losing their benefices. A Bill was also brought in, and presented by the Earl of Morton, for incapacitating all who had employments in the late evil Government, from ever having any again; but this comprehended so many of themselves, that it was laid aside, and little notice taken of it by any party, knowing it could not be his own deed, but put upon him by some to try how it would take.

While they were thus employed, about the middle of July, the Lord Murray, son to the Marquis of Atholl, went to his father's Highlands, and raised about twelve hundred men, pretending only to preserve the peace of the country; but Ballechin, of the name of Stewart, found out his intentions, and gave notice of them to the Viscount of Dundee. This

gentleman, though he had been a dependant upon the Marquis of Atholl, yet preferred his duty to your Majesty to any obligation he owed that family; so, by the Viscount of Dundee's order, he put himself into the Castle of Blair, and when Lord Murray required him to deliver it up, he made answer that he kept it, by the General's order, for the King's service, so, not finding himself in a condition to reduce the place, he sent to General Mackay to let him know that his own house was kept out against him, and desired his assistance, which occasioned Mackay to assemble, as soon as possible, more than four thousand foot and two troops of horse, and march straight to Atholl. The Viscount saw well the consequence of losing that place, for, if reduced, all communication with any other place in the Highlands had been cut off, and that country made incapable to assist him, which he confided most in of all the Highlands. Therefore, that he might prevent this, he ordered a rendezvous of all the Clans, and got together near two thousand foot and the few horse remaining; and, having already written several times to Lord Murray without any return, he further sent Major Graham and Captain Gilbert Ramsay, to lay before him the honour and advantage he would gain to his family and himself, if he would heartily join with him in your Majesty's service, and how easy it would be for them, if they got the least advantage of your enemies, to reduce all Scotland by the help of their friends ready to assist them; that all the world should know your Majesty owed so great a service to him, but, if he now refused so favourable an opportunity, all the blame and loss of your cause would lie at his door. These arguments moved him not, nor would he see these gentlemen or give them any answer. The men he had raised were of another temper, and began to suspect (upon refusing to see these gentlemen) that his designs were not for your service; so all, with one voice, desired to know his resolutions, and that if he would go and join the Viscount of Dundee, they all offered to follow him, but if otherwise, they would immediately forsake him. The great power the heads of Clans have over their vassals made him believe he could reduce them by threatenings, but they, continuing firm in their resolution, and seeing plainly his intention, filled their bonnets with water and drank your health, and left him; he went

straight and met Mackay, and gave account of the condition of that country, and what had befallen him. As the Viscount was marching to Atholl, Major-General Cannon arrived from Ireland; he brought about three hundred new-raised men with him.

Their arrival had been seasonable if two accidents had not happened, which made their coming do the Viscount more prejudice than all the good could be expected from so few men; he had been often promised by the Earl of Melfort, that a considerable body should be sent over, both of horse and foot, with ammunition and all other necessaries, which they were in great want of, (insomuch that many of the best gentlemen who had followed him for many weeks had seen neither bread, salt, or drink, except water;) instead of this hope from Ireland, the Clans saw all their expectations reduced to this three hundred men, who were in as great misery as themselves, which discouraged them extremely; next, the loss of some provisions, as beer, cheese, &c., which was coming to them in ships, which General Cannon detained so long at Mull, that an English frigate came and took them. But, notwithstanding all these discouragements, the Viscount resolved to secure the Castle of Blair, and, about the end of July, marched down to Atholl. When he came to the Castle of Blair, he called a Council of War, having intelligence that Mackay was entering by the narrow pass of Killicrankie into that country. Many of the Clans and other officers were for maintaining that pass, because they thought not themselves strong enough to encounter him, and as their general rendezvous was to be in two days, when they should become considerably stronger. But the Viscount convinced them that, in all appearance, they never could have so fair an opportunity, Mackay having then only two troops of horse with him, but, if they delayed, he would soon bring up all the English horse and dragoons, which the Highlanders of all things most fear. This determined them, and it was resolved to suffer Mackay to enter the pass, and to fight him with half his number, rather than stay till his cavalry had joined him. Mackay, having entered the pass without resistance, formed his army, of above four thousand men, upon a plain, having a small river in his rear, upon the further side of which he placed his baggage.

The Viscount of Dundee encamped upon a heath the night before the battle, and was desirous, before so bold an undertaking, to have some symptoms that his Highlanders (after so long a peace) still retained the courage of their ancestors, so manifest upon former occasions. For this end, while his men slept in their plaids, near the break of day, he caused a loud alarm be made the enemy was at hand. The Highlanders instantly were roused, threw away their plaids, seized their arms, and ran to the front of their camp, drew up into order, then calmly stood, expecting the enemy. When the Viscount perceived this, and that not a man of them had retired, with full assurance he instantly began his march to meet the enemy. When he came to a height that overlooked the plain where Mackay was, he was much pleased to observe them drawn up in but one line, and without any reserve; he assured his men they should beat them if they observed his orders. The posture of the enemy made him change the order of his battle; he formed his small army, of near two thousand, into three divisions, deep in file, with large intervals between them, that he might not be outflanked by Mackay, who was more than double his number, and of veteran troops. Having completed his disposition, which took some time, in the afternoon he marched down to the attack. The Highlanders suffered their fire with courage,—then, when nearer them, del vered their own, and with sword and targe rapidly broke through their line and fell upon their flanks and rear, so that, in a moment, the whole intervals of this extended front gave way and fled. The Viscount put himself at the head of his small body of horse; Sir William Wallace had produced a commission from your Majesty, that morning, to command them, to the great mortification of the Earl of Dunfermline, and even of others who thought themselves injured, yet had that respect for your service that no dispute was made at so critical a time. The Viscount advanced to attack their cannon, but thought Sir William advanced too slowly; he called to them to march, but Sir William not being so forward, the Earl of Dunfermline and some others left their ranks and followed the Viscount; with these he took their cannon before the rest came up. When he observed the foot beaten and horse fled, he rode towards a body of the Macdonalds in the rear, intending to make use of

them to attack the regiments of Hastings and Leven, who were retiring unbroken from not being fronted; but unhappily, while doing this, he was, by a distant shot, mortally wounded; he attempted to return, but fell from his horse.—Although the Highlanders had acted with order and intrepidity, yet unluckily, when they came to the enemies' baggage, it stopped their pursuit, and lost them part of the fruits of their victory, for Mackay and these two regiments got off,—yet many of them were killed next day by the Atholl men, as they were repassing at Killiecrankie. General Mackay fled to Stirling, and arrived the next day, with not above two hundred of his army; he had two thousand men killed upon the field, and near five hundred made prisoners.—The victory was complete, but, I must own, your Majesty's affairs were undone by the irreparable loss of the Viscount of Dundee. Your friends who knew him best were in doubt if his civil or military capacities were most eminent. None of this nation so well knew the different interests, tempers, and inclinations of the men most capable to serve you; none had more the ability to insinuate and persuade; he was extremely affable, and, although a good manager of his private fortune, yet had no reserve when your service and his own reputation required him to be liberal, which gained him the hearts of all who followed him, and brought him into such reputation, that, had he survived that day, in all probability he had given such a turn to your affairs, that the Prince of Orange could neither have gone nor sent into Ireland, so your Majesty had been entirely master of that kingdom, and in a condition to have landed with what forces you pleased in Scotland, which of all things your friends most desired.

Next day after the action, an officer, passing over the field where Lord Dundee had been killed, found lying there a bundle of papers and commissions, which he used to carry about with him; those who had stript him thought them of so little concern, that they left them upon the ground. This gentleman showed them to several of your friends. One of them did no small prejudice to your affairs, and would have done much more if it had not been carefully suppressed. This was a letter from the Earl of Melfort to the Viscount of Dundee, telling he had sent

over to him your Majesty's declaration, which contained, not only an indemnity, but a toleration for all persuasions. This the Earl of Melfort knew would be extremely offensive to the Viscount of Dundee, considering his extreme dislike of it, and the long tract of animosity between him and the Presbyterian party; therefore, to satisfy him, he writes, "That, notwithstanding of what was promised in your declaration, indemnity, and indulgence, yet he had couched his words so, that your Majesty could elude them when you pleased, nor would you think yourself obliged to stand to them." This not only dissatisfied the Viscount but most of your best friends, who thought an ingenuous and candid way of dealing had been more for your honour and service.

Never were men in such a consternation as Duke Hamilton and the rest of the Parliament at Edinburgh, when they knew from those that fled of the defeat of Mackay. Some were for retiring to England, others to the Western Shires of Scotland; this they only delayed till the Viscount of Dundee approached them, for they knew not he was killed. Then they considered whether to set at liberty all the prisoners, or make them more close; the last was resolved, and we were all locked up and debarred from seeing our friends, but never had so many visits from our enemies, all making apologies for what had passed, protesting they always wished us well, as we should see whenever they had opportunity. Colonel Lauder and other officers, to excuse themselves, gave out the whole army was lost, but, in a few days, many appeared they said had been killed; and, as there [were] no accounts of the Viscount's advancing, they began to take a little heart, and soon after they had news of his death, which put an end to their fears, for they knew well there was none in his army had abilities, name, or reputation enough, to make a just use of his victory, which soon appeared, after that Colonel Cannon took upon him the command; for he not only delayed marching down to the Low Country for many days, but his first undertaking was baffled and failed from his loss of time,—for, when he came to Dunkeld, he had intelligence the enemy had a magazine of provisions at Perth, and he sent a party to seize what was necessary for him; before this time, Mackay had intelligence sent him, by the Laird of Weem, of Lord Dundee's death, and

that little order was kept by Lord Dundee's army; upon this, he assembled about three thousand horse and dragoons, and marched to Perth; Cannon's party was in the town, and had done all they came for, but stayed too long there, so were surprised and most of them cut off. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, Cannon got above five thousand men together, and would have had many more, if it had not been for this imprudent step at the beginning of his command. After this affair at Perth, Mackay marches towards Cannon, who, not daring to meet such a body of horse in a plain country, retired to the hills, marching round the skirts of the Highlands, while Mackay attended him in the plain below, and daily in sight of each other, and exchanging bravadoes to fight; but the one durst as little march up the high grounds as the other descend to the low. In this manner they acted during a month, until that Cannon had intelligence that twelve hundred of those called Cameronians were come to Dunkeld, with design to destroy the country of Atholl; he marched towards them with great diligence, and, before they had any accounts of him, he was so near them that they could not retire, but threw themselves into the Marquis of Atholl's house in order to defend themselves, which could not have been done if great oversight had not befallen Cannon; for, when he came to fire upon the place, he found he had not so many balls as cannon, although abundance was taken with them at Killiecrankie. This did so encourage the Cameronians, that, although their commander (a brave man called Cleland) was killed, yet they defended themselves so well that Cannon was obliged to retire for want of powder as well as ball for his cannon, and with the loss of his reputation and of his men. From that time the Highlanders were much discouraged, and, the season of the year being then far advanced, most of them retired home, few remaining with Cannon except the Irish, and some gentlemen who had joined him and knew not where to retire.—Thus all the hopes of your friends were dashed, and your enemies more encouraged than ever, so had leisure to finish their session of Parliament, which ended with so little satisfaction to all the parties in it that most of them went to London, some to complain that those things had not been performed which the Prince of Orange had promised at his receiving the Crown, others went to maintain or defend themselves.

Among these were great animosities, and particularly against the Lord Stair, who, although he had always inclined to the Presbyterian party, yet had many enemies amongst them, as well as on the opposite side. The loyal party thought him too narrow and limited in principles for them, and the Presbyterians too moderate also for theirs, and that he had served kings when their interests were ruined too long to be again re-established in his former post, where they well saw what influence he must needs have (being a man of sense and law) to restrain the violences they intended to use upon all who had been employed or got favours in former reigns. The favours shown to himself and his son by the Prince of Orange, and things not done in Parliament as was expected, made many of these bigots extremely dissatisfied. The Prince, to please this violent party, and to show he was not to blame for their not obtaining all they desired in that session, caused print his instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, his Commissioner, and laid all the blame at his door, although it was well known the Duke had made his court ill, if he had granted what was in them ; but so it was concerted, and he might easily have justified himself, but was too good a courtier not to suffer so bad a treatment patiently, and bear the blame of neglecting to please the most bigot of all the Presbyterians by not settling their religion in its highest extravagance,—and even in that he could find few among themselves could agree. The next complaint was, the not restoring the forfeited estates and fines imposed in the King your Brother's reign; this Duke Hamilton not only neglected but opposed, and thought unjust, and not the less that his son and brother were so much concerned, having two of the best estates of them in possession, by a gift from your Majesty. But, to do him justice, he was not for going such lengths of extravagance and cruelty as the enraged forfeited persons were for, that had come over with the Prince ; which made the most part of them his enemies, until they conceived yet a greater hatred at the Lord Melville,—then they rejoined him, more from interest than inclination.

There [were] others, who went to London to get the reward of their services, but, finding themselves disappointed of those rewards and employments they thought due to their merit, quite broke off from the Prince of Orange. This was done in concert with some of the most

considerable of their English leaders in the same situation as themselves; but this was not known to your friends in Scotland, nor for a long time thereafter. To cover their designs the better, they continued to be the most bigot and warm of their party. The chief of these were Sir James Montgomery, Earl of Annandale, and the Lord Ross, but more particularly Sir James, who had a great ascendant over those two lords. He got acquainted with Mr Ferguson, formerly a Presbyterian minister, Mr Payne, and some others that were then in your service; to them he fully owned his discontents at the Established Government, professed great repentance for the zeal he had shown to advance it, and his willingness to repair the evils he had done, and, trusting to the influence he had over those lords and many others of that party, he frankly undertook to engage them for the future as deeply as himself in your service. The first of his own party he proposed this change to was his brother-in-law, the Earl of Annandale, who, although he had changed very suddenly in the convention, and concurred in all their measures, yet was not regarded as he thought he deserved, so readily hearkened to the proposal of returning to their duty by offering your Majesty their service. Sir James likewise laid before those two lords the great offers of your friends, if they would enter fully into your cause; Sir James was not without reason for saying so, as Mr Payne promised all his ambition, vanity, or avarice could pretend to, and it was hard to know which of these passions was most predominant in him, nor did ever two meet upon more equal terms than Sir James and Mr Payne, Sir James making him believe he could turn the whole nation with a speech, and Mr Payne so far imposed upon him as to pretend he could, with your Majesty and the Court of France, dispose of money, forces, and titles of honour as he pleased. After these two had concerted all their measures, with the consent of Mr Ferguson and those two lords, they proposed their resolution of serving your Majesty to the Earl of Arran, then prisoner in the Tower of London, who readily embraced the motion, thinking a reconcilement with the most violent of your enemies might occasion a considerable turn in affairs.

The next step they made was to send one over to your Majesty, with

an humble offer of their service and advice how all things should be disposed of. Although they found a messenger very proper for their affair, (one Mr Simson, known better by the name of Jones,) yet they found great difficulties how to get their commissions, patents, and instructions to their Parliament, worded according to form, none of them being acquainted with the style of these affairs. Sir William Forrester, your under-secretary for Scotland, eased them of this pain, in giving the forms of all such papers as they desired by Mr Ferguson, believing it could only be for some design to serve your Majesty, the Earl of Arran being known by him to be concerned in it. After they had dispatched their messenger with all his instructions, Sir James and Mr Ferguson being both declared enemies to Lord Melville, they wrote a pamphlet, which they called "The Scots Grievances," in which they laid open all their mismanagements at the Court, and all their wicked breach of promises, with all the bitterness of style Mr Ferguson was capable of, which was not small, being accustomed to such undertakings for many years, but more particularly in the Duke of Monmouth's invasion.

The winter of 1689 was thus spent at London in their private contests and different designs, which made the Prince of Orange say, that he wished Scotland a thousand miles off and Duke Hamilton king of it, so that he were rid of them both. Duke Hamilton, although at enmity with Lords Melville and Stair, (who were the chief cause of these debates,) yet went not publicly to the meetings of their enemies, (which then got the name of the Club,) but lived in outward civility with all until the spring, that Lord Melville came down Commissioner. While they were hot upon their debates at London, the Council of Scotland, where the Earl of Crawford constantly presided without any commission, was very active against the Episcopal clergy who had not prayed for the Prince and Princess of Orange, as was ordered in the last Session of Parliament. A great many of them were summoned before the Council, and, upon their refusal, were turned out of their livings; others, who would have complied, and made it manifest that it was impossible for them to be informed of the order in so short a time as was given, yet were likewise turned out, his zeal carrying all before him, as the rest of the

Council agreed to all he proposed; so that, by the Council, the rabble, and the new-raised dragoons, (which were worse than either,) there was very few clergymen suffered to remain in their churches before the spring, except some few that were willing to comply in everything, which rendered them contemptible even to their enemies.

All this winter, Colonel Cannon lived quietly at Lochaber. Your Majesty sent over Major-General Buchan in the spring. Upon his arrival, the chiefs of the Clans and other officers there met to consider what was then proper to be done. It was there proposed by some, that, since they saw themselves out of all hopes of the reliefs had been promised them, that they should endeavour to make the best capitulation for themselves they could obtain; but Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel (who had great influence among them) got them to change that resolution until they had your Majesty's positive orders, and assuring them that, although in your brother's time they were reduced to much greater straits than they were in at that time, yet they would never be so mean as to capitulate till they had both the King and General's orders for so doing,—and that, for his own part, he was resolved to hearken to no conditions without your Majesty's warrant, and that it would be an infamy to the Highlands of Scotland to think of capitulating, while your Majesty was in Ireland, at the head of an army, and had so many friends in Britain who pretended to be willing to serve you. So they all agreed to his advice, and it was resolved, that until the season of the year was further advanced, and their general rendezvous was made, and that there was forage in the fields, so that their friends in the Low Country could join them, Major-General Buchan should have a detachment of twelve hundred foot to march down to the borders of the Low Country, and amuse the enemy, and fatigue their troops by alarming them in their quarters. He marched to Strathspey, and continued there without doing anything, until they were surprised at Cromdale by Sir Thomas Livingstone about the latter end of May.

The spring being now far advanced, and the money all exhausted

which was laid on by the last Session of Parliament, this put the Prince of Orange to great difficulties, as he was obliged either to grant the extravagant demands of Sir James Montgomery and his party, or to suffer the army, which consisted of near ten thousand men, to be undone for want of pay. The more the Club party saw him straitened, the more they augmented their pretensions; being in this necessity he seemed to yield to their demands, sending Lord Melville down, with instructions to grant these things, yet only in case he could do no better, and saw imminent danger from your friends. For several months before, the Parliament had been adjourned from time to time; this put the Presbyterians, and those who were to have their estates restored, in a mighty rage, and they began to doubt of his intentions either to establish their religion, or restore their estates; but, seeing the Lord Melville named Commissioner, and preparing to go down, they all took their leave, for the most part discontented, the Prince of Orange not having it in his power to satisfy the third part of the pretenders. Thus, having ended their affairs at London, both sides hasted to Scotland to secure to their party such members as had remained there. Sir James Montgomery imparted his designs to several of your friends at London, who so well believed him and trusted so much to his undertaking, that he had eleven hundred guineas put into his hands by Mr Aston, to promote your service, which the Marquis of Atholl brought to Scotland. What use was made of that money was kept a secret amongst a few, none of your friends in Scotland knowing anything of that affair, more than they did of the new scheme and project of monopolizing all things among themselves, nor of their having sent over to your Majesty. Nor was any hing that passed among the Club at London known to your friends, until the Earl of Annandale and the Lord Ross came down; they openly exclaimed against the usage they had met with from the Prince of Orange, but there was little notice taken of it, from the unfixedness of their tempers, until the whole party, with one voice, did the same; their behaviour made your friends hope some use might be made of their divisions, which made them live more friendly with them than formerly.

The Earl of Annandale, as he was always the most forward in what-

ever party he took himself to, so in this was the first who proposed the whole affair to the Earl of Dunmore and myself, then prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh. He said that I, of all men living, had least reason to believe what he was going to tell me, considering how he had used me at the convention by leaving us so abruptly and becoming the most violent against us; he acknowledged his fault, and wished that all the blood of his body could wash off the stains of his past miscarriages, both to King and friends, and hoped that these errors, for the future, should serve as so many beacons to warn him to evite the like in time to come, —with a great deal more of this kind, which he said with such passion and appearance of sincerity, that we were but too soon taken with it, and the more easily deceived that we were glad to find any returning to their duty; he told us, likewise, that he entirely confided in us, and put his life and fortune in our hands, without pretending to any trust from us, only desiring we might live in friendship until the Marquis of Atholl, Duke of Queensberry, Earl of Arran, Viscount of Tarbat, and Sir James Montgomery, should come to Edinburgh, who could inform us of all that had passed at London,—and that, since they had got your Majesty's pardon for what was past, and were now venturing their lives to serve you, they expected all your friends would join heartily in the common cause to ruin the Prince of Orange and restore your Majesty.

A few weeks after this, the Earl of Dunmore and myself had our liberty; Lord Melville came from London, and all the members of Parliament met, but were adjourned for a fortnight. This gave time to the Club party to be industrious with your friends to come and join with them for settling religion and the peace of the nation—as they made the pretence, for the design of serving your Majesty was to be only known by the chief men of the party. The difficulties were extraordinary, how to reconcile such different interests, tempers, and persuasions, as were those of your friends and the Club party; for they, both in the convention and Parliament, had been the most violent against your Majesty and all your friends; and their quarrel to the Prince of Orange was only for not satisfying them with employment, nor suffering them to go to all the extravagances of their religion and revenge, which are so mingled together that

they are become inseparable. They were likewise divided amongst themselves, for none, except Sir James Montgomery, Earl of Annandale, Lord Ross, and Mr Ogilvie, were to know of the resolution to serve your Majesty. Duke Hamilton and his followers had no design but to ruin the Lord Melville and Lord Stair, and to have the session filled with their own creatures. But, although all had different designs, it became clear the Club party could not prevail unless your friends joined them, as the other side had all the profitable employments and the session in their hands. Sir James Montgomery undertook to manage this affair, pretending he knew the inclinations of a great many of your friends, who would join with any party to ruin the Lords Melville and Stair, and to prevent taxes from being imposed by Parliament, and to oblige the Prince of Orange to establish the Court of Session according to the claim of right voted in the convention, and to have a habeas corpus settled, and freedom of speech in Parliament. These were the pretexts he made use of, which were so agreeable to the most bigoted of them, that they doubted not to get these acts past, if we would join with them in all their other demands, which were, to have the Presbyterian religion established in its former height of power, [and] to have the King's supremacy and that committee of Parliament called the Articles, abolished. These, by the generality of them, was at first believed to be all their designs, not knowing these demands were made to incense them against the Prince of Orange when he should refuse them, and to try next if your Majesty would grant them,—for all Kings are alike to them, either just or unjust.

To all your friends it was very evident how great advantage might be made by joining with this violent party, for, by so doing, we thought ourselves sure of breaking their army, which consisted of about ten thousand men, who must immediately have been disbanded if the Parliament had established no fund for paying their arrears and subsistence, and all things must have gone to confusion; and, as your Majesty was then in Ireland, and the Highlanders in the best disposition, a good use might have been made of these disorders. Sir James, in the first meeting we had with him, laid out the great advantages your cause would obtain,

if this succeeded,—likewise insisted upon the strength of his party and the influence he had over them ; he informed us likewise of their sending a messenger to your Majesty, with assurances of returning to their duty, but said nothing of the commissions, instructions, and advices he had sent with the messenger, believing it would have hindered us from joining with them, for by this we should have clearly seen they were only trying to make a better bargain for themselves, and were not acted [on] by any sentiment of conviction for having done amiss But although it was evident, the disorder we should bring among our enemies, and the profit to your party, by going into Parliament, yet to join with our mortal enemies in order to get the one half to ruin the other, and to take an oath of allegiance to the usurper, and to comply with them in things which had always been against our principles, were so hard to get over, that some had great difficulties to overcome them, nor could any thing have done it but the great desire we had to be instruments of your Majesty's restoration. There was two things beside, which made us join with them ; the Marquis of Atholl and Earl of Arran both asserting that your Majesty knew of the design, and approving it, at least so far as to be convinced you thought it to be the greatest piece of service could be done you ; the Viscount of Tarbat likewise assured us positively, that the Prince of Orange was resolved never to grant any of those demands which he knew the Club party intended to propose in Parliament, and, being sure of their firm resolution to grant nothing except they obtained all they desired, we assured ourselves we could not fail in our intention, which was the dissolution of that Parliament. The Viscount of Tarbat desired this as much as we did, although from different motives,—for at that time he was entirely in the Prince of Orange's interest, and trusted more by him than any man in the nation, insomuch that, upon his leaving London, he had a trust given him very uncommon, for he had full power to make a cessation of arms or peace with the Highlanders, and to dispose of L.20,000 sterling, as he should think fit for the Prince of Orange's service, and to dispose of three titles of honour to whom he pleased ; he was also to give account of all that passed in Parliament, and had full power to adjourn or dissolve it, as he thought fit. But, notwithstanding

all this trust, and that he could dissolve the Parliament at his pleasure, yet durst he not venture to do it, although he had more enemies among them, and was more afraid of their sitting, than any of your servants; so desired the dissolution should be brought about by their means, and from the high demands of the Club party, which would secure himself and enrage the Prince of Orange against the Viscount's enemies. These considerations made him take more pains under-hand than any other to engage your friends with the Club party, and have them come to the Parliament; to some, whom he trusted, he pretended he designed nothing but your service, and to others, that it was for the good of the nation, by obtaining acts which would be beneficial to it. Thus being made believe your Majesty liked the proposition, and the hopes of serving you by our design, made us resolve (notwithstanding all our scruples) not only to join with the Club, but to use all endeavours to persuade our friends, and those we had any influence upon, to do the like,—which succeeded as we could wish; for most (of all who continued firm to your interest) resolved to follow our example, without desiring to know the cause of our connection with the Club party. Some there was, who made difficulties, as the Earls of Hume and Lauderdale, the Viscounts of Stormont and Oxenford, and the Sheriff of Bute; but their reasons were more from apprehensions of the Club's betraying and yielding to the Prince of Orange, than from any other scruple,—though I doubt not but some of them had other reasons, and might very justly, considering how nice a point it was. Others resolved and engaged fully, but when the time of the Parliament's sitting drew near, they repented and absented themselves, which gave great encouragement to Lord Melville and his party to meet in Parliament, who had desponded so much, not long before, that it was resolved to dissolve it, and take their chance of another; but, when they saw several of your friends draw back, and had increased their numbers by dividing the office of Clerk-Register into six, and giving each a vote, and by giving money to some and promises of employments to others, they so strengthened their party, that they again took heart, and resolved to begin the session of Parliament, which sat down May, 1690.

But, notwithstanding all the sinistrous courses that were taken to pro-

cure votes, the fears of Lord Melville and his party were still great, as they saw their ruin if they succeeded not, having assured the Prince of Orange of their superiority. After Lord Melville had made his speech, and the President, the Earl of Crawford, had made another long one taken from the Old Prophets, which he applied to that occasion, as of Ezra and Nehemiah's building the Temple of Jerusalem, they brought in a vote about the election of a borough in order to know their strength, which they found above their expectations, carrying it by six,—which makes it clear, that, [if] those of your friends who had engaged to us had not failed, we had out-voted them in that, and consequently made good our designs; for it was firmly resolved among them, if they had lost that vote, though of no consequence, they would have adjourned the Parliament next day, —but gaining it, they took heart; and that which befell your friends at the convention, happened again in the same manner and from the same cause of your friends absenting themselves; and several who pretended to be our friends while they thought us strongest, left us when they saw the contrary, and joined the other party—Sir James Montgomery likewise failed in many he had undertaken for, believing his interest far greater than it really was,—so from that moment we lost hopes of doing any good; but since we had made such a step, we resolved to stay in the house, although it should be for no other end but to retard their designs of forfeiting all those who had appeared for your Majesty's service, and their giving money so soon as they intended, to support their troops and government. But never men made a more miserable figure in any assembly than your friends did in this, after that they saw themselves abandoned and out-voted in every thing, and had nothing to do but sit and hear Duke Hamilton bawl and bluster after his usual manner, and Sir James Montgomery and Sir John Dalrymple scold like watermen.

These two were the chief managers of each party, Sir John pretending to defend the King's prerogative, and Sir James the liberty of the subject and the claim of right, which he did with great force and eloquence, although a country gentleman, not used to great affairs; and if he had not been opposed by the great abilities of Sir John Dalrymple, and but ill sustained from the indifference of your friends, he had un-

doubtedly put them to great straits, for the things he urged were very popular and agreeable to the inclinations of many of the members, and, notwithstanding of all disappointments, we still had the hopes to make them split among themselves by proposing such things [as] we thought would never be granted ; but in this we were also disappointed, for Lord Melville, to justify what he and all his party had so great a desire to do, but durst not attempt, having got the pretext of the imminent danger that both the Prince of Orange and kingdom was in, by the secret plots and conspiracies of your Majesty's friends, yielded to most of their demands. Lord Melville's instructions were, to pass such laws the Parliament should think fit, and establish what form of church government they liked best. Many days passed without daring to mention Presbytery, though most their desire, knowing it was contrary to the Prince of Orange's inclinations, who feared the consequences it might have in England,—beside, he liked to have it undetermined until his affairs were better established, that he might keep both parties in hopes ; but Sir James Montgomery, in a long set speech, fairly said out what they all wished but feared to mention, and that he knew there were instructions for settling religion, and he thought it a shame to that meeting it was not done, but the reasons were well known, for some of them, to please the Court, (although against their own principles,) had delayed it ; he knew likewise some were for setting up one kind of government, some were for another, (for some were for a sort of presbytery called Erastianism, like that in Holland,)—but he would tell them, there could nor ought to be any established in Scotland but the Presbyterian, as it was in 1648, which was the government not only most agreeable to the word of God, but best fitted to curb the extravagant power of kings and arbitrary government, under which they had groaned for many years. This speech to us who knew his secrets seemed a little extraordinary, but he excused himself by being obliged to speak so, for that otherwise he should lose all credit with his party, nor could it have any consequence, since he knew Lord Melville durst not approve his motions ; but the speech was approven by the house, and a committee was appointed to receive all the forms of government should be brought before them, and

to report their opinion of them, and, until this was prepared, they adjourned for some days.

During this adjournment, Sir James received from Ireland a return of his message to your Majesty by Mr Jones. The first night, he opened alone a great black box with papers, where all the commissions and instructions were, and then sent for the Earls of Annandale and Arran, and the Lord Ross, and told them the return of all they had sent was come, but that they believed there were several papers amongst them would be improper to let the Duke of Queensberry, Earls of Linlithgow, Breadalbane, or me see, (although we were the only men of your friends they had trusted with the knowledge of their message to your Majesty;) these four, after they had considered these papers, made up another box of such as they thought fit to show, and sealed it to make us believe it had never been opened; so, in great haste, Sir James desired we might meet at the Marquis of Atholl's lodgings, and (after a formal discourse of his endeavours to serve your Majesty since his going to London with the offer of the Crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange, and of the message he had sent to your Majesty) said, he now desired to meet with us to let us know he had received a return,—that there was a great bundle of papers come over, but, as we were all in one interest, he would not open it nor look upon anything until we did it all together,—he entreated we might meet in the afternoon, and, to show the entire trust he had in us, he would keep no secret, but likewise show us what he had received from the Queen. The Earl of Arran excused himself from being at this meeting, pretending a necessity of being out of town, but the true cause was, he thought they had cheated him in not sending for his commission to be General, as was agreed by them in London. The Duke of Queensberry likewise excused himself, so none were present but the Marquis of Atholl, Earls of Linlithgow and Breadalbane, Lord Ross, and myself.

Sir James brought in a black box, which was a heavy burden to him, and placed it upon the table. (I looked upon it and considered the seals, for I always expected a trick from him.) He told us, he had brought all, (except a letter from your Majesty to himself,) without knowing, as

he should answer to the Almighty God, what was in the box,—which none of us believed, for the packthread was changed, and his own seal put on. After he had opened the box and shown what he thought fit to produce, never were men in greater confusion than all of us, to find we had joined ourselves to men who had so much weakness as to imagine they had interest enough to bring all your enemies to declare for you, without any force. They were in no less confusion than us, finding we saw their folly in undertaking things they had not the least power to perform,—for to your Majesty they had undertaken to get that Parliament to declare for you and immediately to act in your name, and the Earl of Annandale was to be Commissioner to it, and was made a Marquis, and Sir James Earl of Ayr, and Lord Ross an Earl, and all employments of Council, or Session, and army, entirely were put into their hands and those of their friends, who were generally the worst of your enemies, and had ever been the most averse to monarchy of any in the nation. There were likewise great bundles of letters not directed, left to their discretion to give to any of your friends they pleased to trust, which we thought a little hard to be put into their hands who had been forfeiting your Majesty and endeavouring to ruin us all upon your account. Beside the papers we saw, there were many other commissions, patents, and remissions that were made public by themselves, after they had made their discovery to Lord Melville; but, although they had been so fond of getting these commissions, when they came they were anxious what to do with them; to preserve them, they saw, could be of no use to them and a continual hazard, so it was resolved they should all be burnt, but their patents and remissions were preserved, for those they had never shown. Next, how to dispose of their messenger put them into disorder, which made the Earl of Linlithgow carry him to his house, some miles from Edinburgh, where, after he had passed some days with him, he informed him of all things Sir James had concealed, although Sir James had written to him not to trust any of us with the causes of his message, further than already done by him. Mr Jones had been but few days at Edinburgh before he saw plainly that all Sir James his projects were miserably founded, which made him beg to be employed

by us in his return to your Majesty; but few of us desired to have more to do with Sir James or his messenger, nor after this had we any, although they much desired it, and that we should send back Mr Jones with a blank sheet of paper, subscribed, to be filled up when he came to your Majesty with our advices; but this the Duke of Queensberry, Linlithgow, Breadalbane, and myself, absolutely refused, which almost entirely broke us with them, and the more that some of our number complied with their desire,—for the Earl of Arran not only did it himself, but got the Lord Murray likewise to do it, although he had not been engaged with us in any of your concerns, but, to the contrary, we looked upon him as one of the principal ruiners of your affairs, both in the Highlands and at the very beginning of the Revolution.

In the Highlands your affairs had no better effect than in the Parliament, for Major-General Buchan, having marched to Cromdale and neglected the necessary precautions, Sir Thomas Livingstone with a body of dragoons surprised him there, killed above one hundred, took several prisoners, and dispersed his whole party. When the news of their defeat came to Edinburgh, your friends regretted the offer of a cessation of arms, made by the Prince of Orange, had not been accepted; the Viscount of Tarbat had the management of this, but not being desirous to appear openly himself in such a transaction, he proposed it to the Earl of Breadalbane, with the offer of L.5000 sterling, if he could accomplish it,—for the Prince of Orange was then extremely desirous to have all things settled before he went to Ireland. Breadalbane would not act in this affair, till he had the approbation of your friends at Edinburgh, who at that time would not hear of it; so the Earl of Breadalbane generously gave up the affair, though, beside the L.5000 offered, he had other considerable rewards promised him. But, after this defeat, we were all willing the treaty should be set on foot again, as at least it would gain time for the Highlanders to put themselves in a posture of defence. The Prince of Orange was then going to Ireland, which made the Earl of Breadalbane endeavour to meet him in order to fix the cessation; but the Prince was gone before he came his length, so the Highlanders were

left to the efforts of their enemies, who might have done more to hurt them if the victory at Cromdale had [been] pursued.

Your friends at Edinburgh were in no better condition, being obliged to sit among your enemies and hear them establishing Presbytery, rescinding all acts had ever been in any way prejudicial to their interest, restoring all forfeitures or fines incurred by treason, rebellion, and other misdemeanours, and disposed of by grants from your brother or your Majesty to those men who had served you best against them; and, to complete this scene, they now forfeited all who had appeared for you in arms, except Sir William Wallace, who was overlooked.—And, to finish our misfortunes, the chiefs of that party we had joined with not only left but betrayed us, as soon as they saw little probability of accomplishing their own designs, which was the only thing they had ever aimed at, and not your service, as they pretended.

Some days before the Prince of Orange went to Chester, I had warning given me by Mr Ogilvie, that the Lord Ross designed to meet him there, and make a discovery of all he knew; which occasioned us to send the Earl of Linlithgow to him, to know if he had any such intention; he protested the contrary with many oaths; some were inclined to believe him, others were for taking a sure way to prevent his discovery, since your affairs and their own lives and fortunes depended upon it,—but that was of so dangerous a consequence, and so unjust, (unless our proofs had been certain,) that most of us abhorred the motion. A few days after, though he gave over his journey to Chester, believing, from what the Earl of Linlithgow had said, that we suspected him, and that he could not travel in safety, yet, notwithstanding all his renewed oaths, he sent for Mr Dunlop, a noted Presbyterian Minister, and revealed all he knew to him; he told him he was under great trouble of conscience, and desired his prayers to enable him to open his heart to him. After a long prayer and many sighs and tears, he told him all he knew, which God again was thanked for, as being the effects of Mr Dunlop's prayers being heard. Next morning, he sent the minister to Lord Melville, to let him know he had affairs of great importance to communicate to the

Queen, for which he desired a pass, and had it immediately given him ; before he went, he told Lord Melville, in general, there was dangerous conspiracies against the King and Government, in which he had too great a share, and for which he had sought God's pardon, and now was going to seek it from the Queen, to whom he would discover all he knew. When he came to London, the first audience he had of the Princess of Orange, he informed her of the whole transaction, and laid all the blame upon Sir James Montgomery. After she had heard him, she sent for the Earls of Denbigh and Nottingham, that they might hear his narrative ; but, when they came, he denied all he had said before, and, after they had left the room, when she upbraided him for impudence, he replied, that he had made this discovery, that the danger she and the kingdom were in might be prevented, but that nothing should ever force him to be an evidence against those he had been in friendship with. For this he was immediately sent to the Tower, where he remained eight or nine months, nor could any means induce him to say more, though he had both threatenings and allurements to entice him.

It was no sooner known Lord Ross was gone, but his errand was published by Mr Dunlop, according to the custom of his profession, making no secret of his confession, which so alarmed Sir James Montgomery, that he resolved not to be long behind him, for he saw himself undone with his violent party, to whom he had been professing principles so opposite to his practice. But to make a confession to his mortal enemy Lord Melville, and to seek for mercy from the Prince and Princess of Orange, whom he knew abhorred him, were hard steps to make ; yet, with a good share of confidence, and the capacities of putting things into a favourable light, he doubted not to succeed. With the Lord Melville he soon insinuated himself so far as to be allowed to go to London and explain his affairs himself ; to gain this credit with Lord Melville, he put into his hands the letters he had received from your Queen, which was a joyful sight to him, for, from what they contained, he ventured to ratify and touch all the acts passed in Parliament, which was never believed he dared to do, as he knew it would be displeasing to the Prince of Orange, who had put this power in his instructions only to please the

Club party, and without any intention he should perform them, except in a case of necessity. He passed likewise several acts for which he had no warrant, making the imminent hazard they were in the reason for all, as in these letters promises of assistance from France, both of money and forces, were made. He likewise gave up the instructions sent to the Earl of Annandale, when he should be Commissioner to the Parliament; but in all their discoveries there was never a word mentioned of their patents and remissions, and those sent to Duke Hamilton and others of their friends. When Sir James came to London, he was so cautious as not to go near the Princess of Orange, until he had assurance, that, in case they could not agree upon terms, he should not be detained; this was granted him,—but although he confessed the most part of all that had passed of his transactions with your Majesty and friends, yet he would neither promise to be an evidence, nor give his advice how these evils might be prevented, unless he was secured in a full pardon for all the crimes he could name, and then to have a good employment, pretending the lowness of his estate, which was ruined by the severities of the late Government. To make himself of more importance, he made the danger from this combination of parties far greater than it really was. The Princess of Orange inclined to grant all he demanded, and wrote in his favour to the Prince, then in Ireland; but something had passed between the Prince and Sir James in private, which occasioned such an abhorrence at him that he would not hear of employing him; a remission he would have granted upon condition of his being an evidence, but that Sir James would not submit to, so absconded, and a few months thereafter did all he could to vindicate himself to your friends, and succeeded with not a few.

The Earl of Annandale soon followed Sir James, and lived privately at the Bath until there was a warrant sent down to bring him to London; he was the last of the three that made discoveries of what advances they and others had made for your service, which gave him ground to excuse himself to your friends, and that only necessity had compelled him to do it, believing the other two designed to bring themselves off at the expense of his ruin. Nothing was material in his confessions more than the others

had told, except concerning Mr Payne, which occasioned his being put to the torture, which he endured with great constancy without making any discovery to them,—which was the more remarkable, that he might truly have given his oath he knew no more than what was already told by those who had made their confessions, which would have brought him off. Torture had been declared by them against the claim of right of the people, and illegal and tyrannical, but they inserted a very necessary clause, and fit for their own occasions, "except upon extraordinary occasions," which made every case extraordinary and necessary when they found it for their own interest.

Thus ended the Club party's further dealing with your friends. As I have fully laid before your Majesty the faults of your enemies, I have not concealed our own that were entirely in your interest, nor can I excuse our joining with the one half of our enemies (and the worst half) to ruin the other, nor could even success have justified a policy too far pushed,—but, failing, we had nothing left but the mortification of having failed.

FINIS.

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